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YE ARE THE BODY

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A People's History of the Church

By
BONNELL SPENCER, O.H.C.



*Now ye are the Body of Christ,
and members in particular.*

I CORINTHIANS 12:27

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Preface

THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION justifies itself by an appeal to Church History. In the sixteenth century, while the Protestant Reformers were appealing to the Bible and to what they thought was first century Christianity, and while the Roman Catholics were resisting their innovations by the exaltation of the Pope, the Church in England tried to be faithful to the Church of history. It rejected the idea that the Church had reached its full and final form when the last book of the Bible was written. It repudiated the exaggerated Papal Claims which had developed in the preceding centuries. It retained the historic Creeds. The decrees of the General Councils were recognized as the basis of authority. Abuses were corrected, but the traditional Faith, Sacraments, and to some extent, even devout practices were kept. The historic episcopate was continued. In the confusion of the times, mistakes were made. Deviations from the historic Church occurred in minor matters. But they were the result of ignorance, not of intent. The Church of England tried its best to continue the Church of history.

One might expect the members of such a Church to be well informed on history. One might expect the clergy to see that they were. Yet the average layman of the Episcopal Church seems to know almost nothing about the history of the Church. The clergy have their courses on the subject in seminary, but subsequent preaching and teaching seems to be affected by them very little.

Perhaps one reason for this ignorance of Church History is the difficulty of finding a simple yet comprehensive book which both traces the main currents of the Church as it sweeps down the centuries and illustrates them by a sufficient array of facts and personalities to make

the story vivid. Whether this book will serve that purpose is for the reader to judge.

The urge to write this book has come from an attempt to teach Church History to a group of boys in the eleventh grade. The course was instituted three years ago. Since no suitable textbook could be found, the author produced a mimeographed outline which the class has been using. This book is the expansion of that outline in the light of three years' teaching experience.

The author does not claim to be a scholarly historian. He is simply a teacher trying to recount the chief facts, portray the outstanding leaders and explain the main developments of Church History for the ordinary layman. He can testify from classroom experience that a course in Church History is the best means of convincing people of the importance and the grandeur of the Church and therefore of the religion which it teaches. He has also found that, by following the process by which the Church has thought out and formulated its doctrines, the Faith has become more intelligible. A deeper understanding and appreciation of the Sacraments and spiritual life has been produced by studying the developments of Church customs and the lives of the saints.

It is assumed that the reader will be more interested in that section of the Church which is closest to us. Therefore three chapters are devoted to the history of the Church in England and America. But an attempt has been made to keep the whole Church in view, especially since the Reformation. In the light of the current interest in the reunion of Christendom, it is most important that we be aware of the large groups of Christians whose traditions are different from ours. For although our tradition is a true and living part of the Church, it is only a part. If we would recover the whole, we must try to understand the process by which the various traditions have become separated and to recognize their fundamental relationships to each other.

Although this book was designed in the first instance for classroom use, its textbook character has been reduced to a minimum in order not to interfere with ordinary reading. The book has been divided into sections, however, each of which is to serve as a day's assignment. These sections are ordinarily arranged in groups of four. If four sections followed by a review and test are covered each week, the book will provide material for a full year's course. If the class meets only twice a week, the book can be covered in two years.

The charts and review outlines should be helpful not only in the

classroom but to the ordinary reader who wants to get a comprehensive picture of the Church.

The author wishes to express his gratitude and indebtedness to the Reverend Julien Gunn, O.H.C., and to several other priests who have read the manuscript in whole or in part and have given many valuable suggestions; to Mr. Arthur Mann for his research on the maps; to Mr. Ira Bills for drawing the maps and the illustration of the Early Eucharist; to Mr. Howard B. Spencer for drawing Chart XI; to Mr. Everett Carter for his help in preparing the manuscript; and to all the students who have taken this course and who have, by their co-operation and responsiveness, encouraged the writing of this book.

St. Andrew's School
St. Andrews, Tenn.

The need for a third printing has provided the opportunity for correcting misprints, inaccuracies and ambiguities. The author hereby expresses his gratitude to those readers who have pointed them out to him.

Contents

PREFACE	v
-------------------	---

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

A. WHAT IS THE CHURCH?	3
B. THE FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH	6
1. The Pre-Christian Church, 6	
2. The Jewish Rejection of Christ, 9	
3. The Call and Training of the Apostles, 12	
4. The Equipment of the Apostles, 15	

II. THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

A. THE JEWISH CHRISTIAN CHURCH	17
1. The Church at Jerusalem, 17	
2. The Martyrdom of St. Stephen, 20	
3. Missions from Jerusalem, 21	
4. The Palestinian Jewish Church, 23	
B. THE MISSION TO THE GENTILES	25
1. The Conversion of St. Paul, 25	
2. The Apostolic Council, c. 50 A.D., 29	
3. St. Paul the Missionary, 32	
4. The End of the Apostolic Age, 35	

III. THE AGE OF PERSECUTION

A. THE PERSECUTIONS	37
1. The Causes of the Persecutions, 37	
2. The Great Persecutions, 40	
3. The Spirit of Martyrdom, 42	
4. The End of the Persecutions, 44	

B. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE EARLY CHURCH	46
1. The Early Eucharist, 46	
2. The Threefold Ministry, 50	
3. The New Testament, 55	
4. Discipline, 58	
5. The Beginnings of Monasticism, 61	
C. THE BEGINNINGS OF THEOLOGY	63
1. Gnosticism, 63	
2. The Western Fathers, 66	
3. The Eastern Fathers, 68	
4. The Doctrine of the Trinity, 71	
IV. THE AGE OF THE COUNCILS	
A. ARIANISM	75
1. Arius and His Teaching, 75	
2. The Council of Nicaea I, 325 A.D., 78	
3. The Revival of Arianism, 82	
4. St. Athanasius Against the World, 85	
5. The Triumph of the Nicene Faith, 88	
B. THE CHURCH IN THE WEST	91
1. St. Martin of Tours (316-397), 91	
2. St. Ambrose (340-397) and St. Augustine (354-430), 94	
3. Pelagianism, 97	
C. THE CHURCH IN THE EAST	99
1. St. Jerome (340-420) and St. John Chrysostom (347-407), 99	
2. Nestorianism, 102	
3. Monophysitism, 105	
4. Caesaro-Papalism, 108	
V. THE DARK AGES	
A. THE WESTERN CHURCH	112
1. The Rise of the Papacy, 112	
2. St. Benedict (480-543), 116	
3. St. Gregory the Great (540-604), 118	
4. Charlemagne (742-814), 121	
B. THE EASTERN CHURCH	123
1. Mohammedanism, 123	
2. The Last Two General Councils, 126	
3. The Great Schism, 1054, 129	
4. The Slavonic Church, 132	
C. THE END OF THE DARK AGES	134
1. The Conversion of Northern Europe, 134	
2. The Cluny Reforms, 136	
3. Investiture, 139	
4. The Crusades, 142	

VI. THE CHURCH IN THE BRITISH ISLES

A. THE BRITISH CHURCH	145
B. THE CELTIC CHURCH	147
C. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH	150
1. The Conversion of England, 150	
2. The Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church, 153	
3. The Decline of the Anglo-Saxon Church, 156	
D. THE NORMAN CHURCH	158
1. Its Establishment, 158	
2. The Foundation of English Liberties, 161	

VII. THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

A. THE AWAKENING	165
1. The New Religious Orders, 165	
2. The Revival of Theology, 168	
3. St. Francis of Assisi (1182?-1226), 170	
4. The Friars, 173	
B. THE FLOWERING OF THE MIDDLE AGES	176
1. The Papacy at Its Height, 176	
2. St. Louis IX of France (1214-1270), 179	
3. St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274), 181	
4. Critique of the Thirteenth Century, 184	
C. THE DECLINE OF THE MIDDLE AGES	187
1. The "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy (1305-1377), 187	
2. The Papal Schism (1378-1417), 190	
3. The Decay of the Church, 193	
4. The Pre-Reformers, 196	

VIII. THE REFORMATION

A. BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMATION	199
1. The Rise of Nationalism, 199	
2. The Renaissance, 202	
3. The Rise of the Middle Class, 205	
4. Individualism, 208	
B. THE REFORMERS	211
1. The Humanists, 211	
2. Martin Luther (1483-1546), 214	
3. The Radicals, 218	
4. John Calvin (1509-1564), 221	
C. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION	223
1. The Revival of the Roman Church, 223	
2. Authoritarianism, 226	
3. The Spiritual and Priestly Life, 230	
4. Roman Catholicism, 233	

IX. THE CHURCH DIVIDED

A. THE WARS OF RELIGION	238
1. The Struggle in Germany, 238	
2. The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), 241	
3. The Huguenots, 243	
4. European Settlement, 247	
B. FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS	251
1. The Age of Louis XIV, 251	
2. The Roman Catholic Church, 254	
3. Lutherans and Calvinists, 257	
4. Protestantism, 261	
C. THE ORTHODOX CHURCHES	264

X. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

A. THE ENGLISH REFORMATION	268
1. Henry VIII's Quarrel with the Pope, 268	
2. Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), 271	
3. Mary Tudor (1516-1558), 275	
4. Elizabeth I (1533-1603), 277	
B. THE STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND	281
1. James I (1566-1625), 281	
2. William Laud (1573-1645), 284	
3. The Commonwealth and Protectorate, 287	
4. The Restoration, 290	
C. DEVELOPMENTS IN ENGLAND	293
1. The Latitudinarians, 293	
2. The Methodists, 296	
3. The Tractarians, 299	
4. The Catholic Revival, 303	
D. ANGLICANISM	306
1. The Anglican Communion, 306	
2. Apostolic Succession, 309	
3. The Prayer Book, 312	
4. Catholicity, 315	

XI. THE CHURCH IN AMERICA

A. ROMAN CATHOLICISM	319
B. PROTESTANTISM	322
C. THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH	325
1. Anglican Settlements, 325	
2. The Colonial Church, 328	
3. Reconstruction, 331	
4. Expansion, 334	
5. Churchmanship, 337	

XII. THE DAWN OF A NEW AGE 342

CONTENTS

xiii

MAPS

PALESTINE IN THE FIRST CENTURY	2
JOURNEYS OF ST. PAUL	31
THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY	77
THE CONVERSION OF EUROPE	113
BRITISH ISLES	151
EUROPE AFTER THE REFORMATION	250

CHARTS

I. THE PREPARATION FOR CHRIST	7
II. THE APOSTLES	13
III. SAUL'S DILEMMA	28
IV. THE THREEFOLD MINISTRY	54
V. THE NEW TESTAMENT	57
VI. THE TRINITY	73
VII. THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY	79
VIII. ST. ATHANASIUS' EXILES	86
IX. THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST	103
X. THE PENDULUM OF HERESY	111
XI. THE ROOTS OF THE REFORMATION	258
XII. THE CHURCH IN THE COLONIES	327

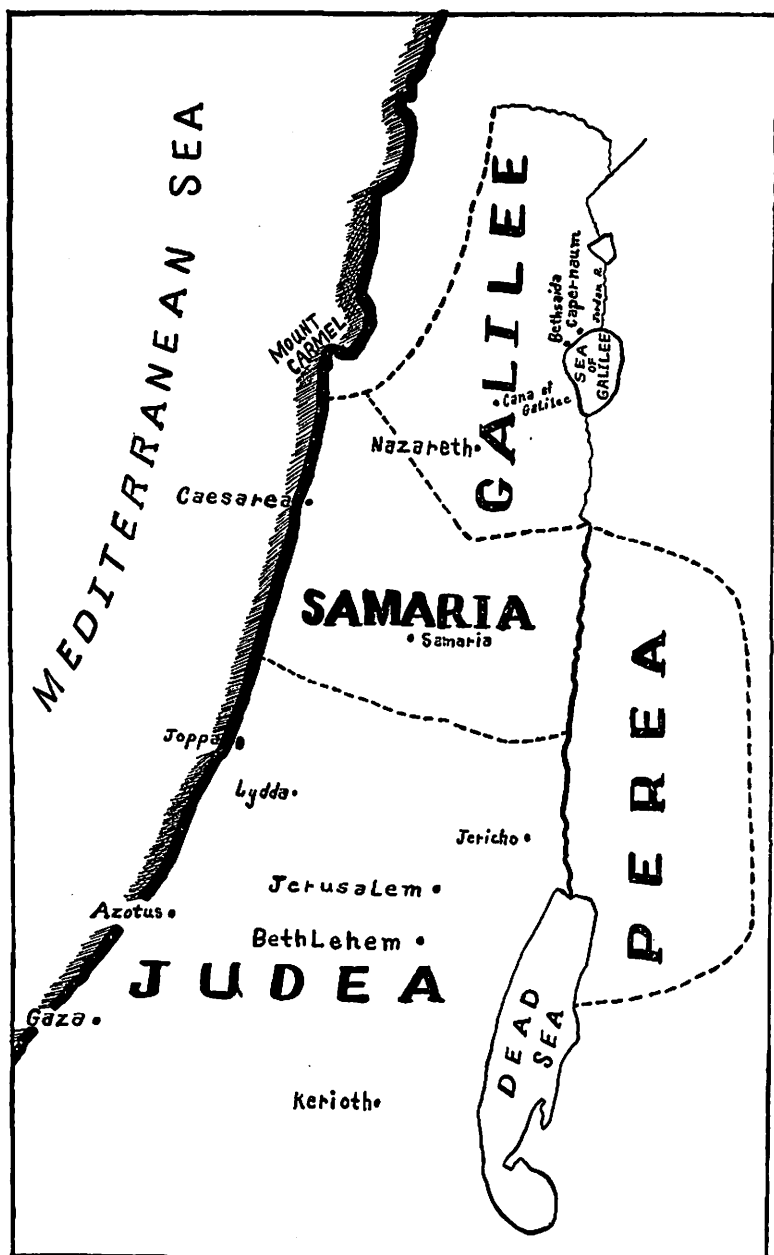
REVIEW OUTLINES

I. LIVES OF SAINTS PETER, JOHN AND PAUL	348
II. THE EARLY CHURCH	350
III. THE AGE OF THE COUNCILS	352
IV. THE GENERAL COUNCILS	353
V. THE MAJOR HERESIES	354
VI. THE DARK AGES	355
VII. THE CHURCH IN THE BRITISH ISLES	357
VIII. THE MIDDLE AGES	358
IX. BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMATION	360
X. DIVISIONS OF THE CHURCH	361
XI. EVENTS OF THE REFORMATION (16TH CENTURY)	362
XII. EVENTS OF THE REFORMATION (17TH CENTURY)	365
XIII. LEADERS OF THE MODERN CHURCH	366
XIV. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND	367

BIBLIOGRAPHY	369
------------------------	-----

INDEX	373
-----------------	-----

YE ARE THE BODY



PALESTINE IN THE FIRST CENTURY

CHAPTER I

The Origin of the Christian Church

A. WHAT IS THE CHURCH?

The Church is the Body of which Jesus Christ is the Head, and all baptized people are the members. —PRAYER BOOK, p. 290.

THE CHURCH is the Body of Christ, the means by which our Lord can continue to speak and act on earth. God became man in Christ in order that he might meet us on our level. He took a human body and a human mind so that he could make himself known in human terms and do things on earth for men. But he was able to meet and help only a relatively few people in Galilee and Jerusalem before his death on Calvary. If he was to continue working on earth in this way, he had to have another form of his Body that would be able to spread all over the world and last down the centuries. That Body is the Church.

All baptized Christians are formally members of the Church. The living members include all believing and practising Christians on earth and all the saved in the life beyond. But the Church is not a mere collection of persons or a man-made organization. It is an organism created by God and related to Christ as our bodies are related to our minds. The Mind of the Church is the Mind of Christ, and his Mind can speak and act through the Church on earth.

The Mind of Christ is the Mind of the whole Church, not the

opinion of any individual Christian or group of Christians. It is what the Church has taught at all times, in all places, by all accredited teachers, confirmed by the Bible. Since the Mind of Christ is infallible (cannot make a mistake), so this universal Mind of the Church is infallible.

Because the Church is the Body of Christ it has certain characteristics. They are summarized in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. The Church is One. This is still true today in spite of the divisions of Christendom. Christ established one Church; he has only one Body. In so far as any Christian group participates in the life of Christ, it is part of the one Church, the only Church there is. That which separates it from other Christian groups is the result of human sin. This mars and hides the visible unity of the Church. But in spite of these outward divisions, the Church which is united to Christ is One.

The Church is Holy, not because its members on earth are holy (most of them are far from it), but because Christ its Head is holy. Everything that is truly of the Church is his work and partakes of his holiness. The Church is the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit who makes its members holy to the extent that they will permit him.

The Church is Catholic,¹ which means both inclusive and universal. It is inclusive because it contains in its teaching all the truth and power needed to save man. It is universal because through it Christ reaches out and seeks to win every soul born into this world.

The Church is Apostolic. It continues the tradition first handed over to the Apostles by Christ himself. It descends from them, and therefore from Christ, in an unbroken succession. The outward sign of this is the ordination of bishops by the laying on of hands from generation to generation, right back to the Apostles themselves.

Besides teaching through the Church, Christ acts through it. The chief acts of Christ through his Body the Church are the Sacraments. In these he takes material things (water, bread, wine, oil) and he performs certain actions through authorized ministers. These acts give needed strength and helps to the members of his Body.

In a larger sense, every act of the Church which is according to God's will is an act of Christ. In this way he reaches out to win souls and he works in human society to redeem the world. Considered from this point of view, Church History is the story of how our Lord has taught men to understand, define and interpret the revelation he first

¹ Distinction is made throughout this book between Catholics which refers to the whole Church, and Roman Catholic which refers to one of the modern divisions of it.

gave in Galilee and Jerusalem. It is the account of how God has been working from within the human race to win souls, to unite them to himself and to use them as his agents on earth.

But there is another side to Church History. The members of the Church on earth are human beings, all of whom are more or less sinful. Christ makes them members of his Church in order to save them. He works through them because he wants to speak and act in ordinary human society. The Church on earth could not be an invisible society of saints known only to God and still fulfil its two essential functions. If it were composed solely of saints, it could not be a hospital for sinners in which they are healed and saved. If it were an invisible society known only to God, it would not be a visible agency through which Christ could speak and act objectively on earth. The truth of the matter is that God makes sinners members of his Church and acts through them in so far as they surrender themselves to him.

The sins of the members of the Church are not acts of Christ. They are hindrances to his work. As such they are, however, part of Church History. We must study not only what Christ has done, but also the obstacles he has met and overcome. But we must always distinguish carefully between the teaching and actions of the Church, which are the works of God on earth, and the sins of its members.

Some illustrations may help us here. Bishop X gives certain teaching about the Resurrection. If his teaching agrees with what the Church has always taught on the subject, he is the mouthpiece of the Mind of Christ. Christ is speaking through him. If, however, Bishop X is an ignorant or self-opinionated man, if his teaching is some notion of his own, contrary to what the Church has always taught, then his teaching is false. It is what is known as heresy. Even though he is a bishop, it has no divine authority whatever.

On the other hand suppose a priest has committed a serious sin and is not at all repentant. He goes to the Altar and celebrates Holy Communion. This is a further sin on his part, a sacrilege. But he does celebrate Holy Communion just the same and our Lord is present in the bread and wine consecrated to be his Body and Blood. Those who receive communion receive Christ. The reason is that the priest's power to celebrate Holy Communion does not depend on his moral condition but on the authority he received when he was ordained. He acts as the agent of Christ not in his private capacity but in his official capacity as a priest of the Church.

Finally a layman who lives a full Christian life is gradually enabled

to develop something of the character of Christ. He shows forth his love, his patience, his forgiveness, his understanding. Men are drawn to such a man and through him are led to Christ. A layman, however, who does not live a Christian life is a scandal to the Church. Men who know he calls himself a Christian look at him in all his selfishness and sin and say, "So that is what Christianity is like. We will have none of it."

Christ acts through his Church, through the sinful members of his Church as far as they will permit him. Their sins are not his acts; they hinder his work. In spite of these sins Christ always wins through in the end. "The gates of hell shall not prevail against" the Church. For just this reason sin is a horrible thing in a Christian. It is a betrayal of the Church of which he is a member, a denial of Christ who is the Head of the Church. As the author of *Hebrews* says, sinning Christians "crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh and put him to an open shame."

B. THE FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH

I. The Pre-Christian Church

The Christian Church was not the first society established by God as a means by which he could work on earth. It was God's intention from the beginning to save man from sin by becoming man himself and giving his life for the world. If any men were to recognize him and understand his message and his work, it was necessary that they be prepared for his coming. They had to know something of the nature of God and they had to expect his intervention in human affairs.

Sinful man degenerated so rapidly that he soon lost any idea of God which was at all accurate. At the dawn of history, most religion was nature worship. It found a different god in each important aspect of nature—the sun, moon, stars, wind, rain, sea, etc. Every thicket, waterfall, river, hill, hearth was the abode of some minor deity. These nature gods were thought of as being supermen with human failings as well as virtues. The worshipper tried to win their favor by bribes, and since the main function of the gods was to produce fertility in crops and herds, the form of worship was frequently immoral. The drunken orgies in honor of Bacchus, the god of the vine, are examples of this kind of worship.

Had Christ come to people who held this concept of God, they simply would not have recognized him. They might have thought he was one of the gods come to earth for some purpose, as the people of

Lystra thought of St. Paul and St. Barnabas. (See Acts 14: 8-18.) They would not have realized that Christ was the one God, Creator of heaven and earth. Their concept of sin would not have been strong enough for them to understand why God alone could make the sacrifice that would redeem the world.

It was only by a long slow process that men could be brought back to a true knowledge of God. Such men would need generations of special training and during this process they would have to be protected as far as possible from contamination by the pagan world. For this training God chose one race of men—the Jews. He united them to himself as his people in a special sense. He taught them both by their experiences in history and by sending them prophets to interpret these experiences. The Old Testament is the account of how God prepared the Jews for his coming. That is why it is included in our Bible.

In order to recognize God, the Jews had to be taught three things:

1. *There is one God.* God first manifested himself to the Jews through the eruption of a volcano—Mount Sinai. This put him at once in a different class from the nature gods. They were domestic gods who could be thought of as being rather like men, interested in the same things—the prosperity of their lands, herds and people.

CHART I. THE PREPARATION FOR CHRIST

<i>The Jews were taught:</i>	There is one God.	God is holy and he expects his worshippers to be holy.	God intended to intervene in human history and redeem the world through the Jews.
<i>This was symbolized by:</i>	The Temple	The Law	The expectation of the Messiah
<i>It was misinterpreted by:</i>	The Sadducees	The Pharisees	The Zealots
<i>To produce:</i>	Priestly privilege	Claim on God, often resulting in self-righteousness	Jewish nationalism
<i>Christ corrected by:</i>	Demand for sincerity in worship and prayer	Call to repentance, humility, love	Teaching that the Messiah and his Kingdom are spiritual

Jehovah (the Jewish name for God) was a God of tremendous power manifested in destruction. He could not be tamed. He could only be worshipped. Yet the Jews believed that he was their protector, using his power to help them, as when he sent the plagues on Egypt to procure their release from slavery. Gradually they came to realize that he is not only a destroyer but a creator, that he is a God of almighty power above all other gods, and finally that he is the only God.

The Jews were always tempted to reduce Jehovah to a little local nature god or to add the worship of local gods to the worship of Jehovah. In order to protect them from this temptation, God gave them the Temple in Jerusalem. This was the one place where they could offer sacrifice to the one God. The Temple was the outward and visible reminder of the truth that God is one.

2. *God is holy and he expects his worshippers to be holy.* Holiness is more than goodness. It includes morality, but it goes beyond it. It means nothing less than absolute perfection, and for man that requires complete surrender to the will of God. God is perfect—there is no evil in him. Man must become like God and be united to him.

God's righteousness was first revealed to the Jews when he used his power to save them from the cruel oppression of Egypt. He was seen as the supporter of the innocent weak against the tyrannous strong. This experience was followed at once by the delivery of the Commandments at Sinai. That was the beginning of the Law, a major factor in the Jewish religion.

The Law served two purposes. First, there was the moral Law. This defined the holiness which God expected of the Jews because they were the chosen people of an holy God. "Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy." Second, there was a ceremonial Law, a great mass of regulations about food, clothing, circumcision and other customs. These served no moral purpose. Their function was to make the Jews different from other peoples. This kept them to themselves and prevented them from losing their knowledge of God even when living in pagan lands. At the time of Christ, there were colonies of Jews in every important city of the ancient world. Those who held faithfully to the Law went right on being Jews in the midst of pagan surroundings. These colonies were to be most important in the spread of Christianity.

3. *God intended to intervene in human history and redeem the world through the Jews.* The Jews were the chosen people. God had chosen them for a purpose. This purpose could only be to bring all men into union with him through the Jews. When the Jewish nation was destroyed and the attempt at its restoration came to little, the

Jews were led to expect that God himself in some miraculous way would establish his world-wide kingdom through the Jews.

The usual form of this idea in the last centuries before Christ was that God would send a special agent, a Messiah. Sometimes the Messiah was thought of as a man; sometimes as a supernatural being. But the most important thing was that he was to be a special agent of God, endued with invincible power and certain of success. This idea embodied the Jewish expectancy that God would himself take a part in human history. It received its final touch when St. John the Baptist called the Jews to repentance because the Messiah was about to come.

Thus it will be seen that each of the three central ideas of the Jewish religion had an outward symbol. The truth that there is one God was symbolized in the one Temple at Jerusalem. The Law expressed the holiness of God and his demand for holiness in his worshippers. The expectancy of the Messiah gave definiteness to the hope that God was going to intervene in human history.

2. The Jewish Rejection of Christ

In spite of the preparation they had received, most of the Jews failed to recognize Christ when he came. Their selfishness and sin had misinterpreted their special relationship to God. Instead of seeing their vocation as the means by which God was to draw all men to himself, they saw it as a matter of selfish privilege. They interpreted the cleavage between Jews and Gentiles (non-Jews) to mean that Jews were certain of salvation because they were the chosen people and the Gentiles were outcasts. There was a missionary movement going on in our Lord's time, which sought to convert the Gentiles, but its object was to make the Gentiles Jews who kept the Law to the full. Many of the Gentiles were interested, but as most of them would not accept the ceremonial Law, the movement was not meeting with great success.

Each of the three leading Jewish parties of our Lord's day capitalized on one of the symbols of the Jewish religion, perverting it to their selfish advantage. The Sadducees, the party of the High Priest who had charge of the Temple, turned their position into a profitable enterprise. They extracted vast sums from the pilgrims to Jerusalem by exorbitant prices for sacrificial animals and by an unfair rate of exchange into Temple currency. They also used their position as official leaders of the Jews to make a compromise with the ruling Romans which was as favorable as possible to themselves. They were collaborationists.

The Pharisees were the party which exalted the Law. They elaborated minute regulations in order to protect each item of the Law from any possibility of violation. As these regulations dealt chiefly with the ceremonial Law, there was a tendency to exalt this above the moral demands of the Law. This is the basis of our Lord's charge that they had "omitted the weightier matters of the Law, judgment, mercy and faith." Even more serious was that they made their carefulness in keeping the ceremonial Law a basis for expecting and even demanding certain privileges from God. They believed they were in a position to bargain with God. "We have kept your law, now you must keep your promises." The Pharisees were very devout and respectable, but most of them were self-righteous and self-satisfied. They had little penitence, humility, or love. Their zeal for the Law was poisoned with spiritual pride in their own accomplishments and with scorn of all others who were less careful.

The Zealots were the Jewish revolutionaries who were eager to throw off the Roman yoke. They seized upon the doctrine of the Messiah and interpreted it in its most nationalistic sense. The Messiah was to be a warrior who would subdue the Gentiles by force and establish the Jews as the rulers of the world.

Our Lord had to correct these perversions of the revelation God had given the Jews. He taught that God is a loving Father who wants men to love him in order that they may find eternal life in him. This love was to be expressed not by the formal offering of Temple sacrifices but by worship "in spirit and in truth." The Temple while it lasted was to be a house of prayer, not a den of thieves for the profit of those who ran it. Accordingly Christ drove out the money-changers and them that sold doves. He even predicted that before long the Temple would be destroyed. By this he probably referred not only to the actual destruction of the temple in 70 A.D. He may also have intended to indicate that, in the Christian Church, the Temple sacrifices would no longer be the focus of worship. Christian worship was to be centered in the Holy Communion which can be celebrated at any altar anywhere in the world. All this teaching turned the Sadducees against Christ.

He was no less ruthless in his opposition to the Pharisees. He insisted that God is merciful and forgiving and wants to save all men, Gentiles as well as Jews. The road to salvation does not lie in the works of the Law, still less in the special privileges of the Jews. All men have sinned. No man can save himself: he must humbly repent and receive undeserved forgiveness and redemption from God.

Christ also taught that the moral Law was more important than the ceremonial. He deliberately violated some of the minute requirements of the latter and defended his violation of them.¹ The great commandments, which summarize God's will for man, are to love God and to love one's neighbor as oneself. This teaching, in turn, offended the Pharisees and put them into opposition to him.

Our Lord lost the support of the Zealots because he rejected the idea of a warrior Messiah. He came to establish a spiritual Kingdom, including all men and giving no political supremacy to the Jews. His willingness to leave the political situation to take care of itself and his insistence that the only important duty was personal surrender to God were expressed in his words, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." This teaching would hardly commend itself to the Zealots.

The leaders of the ancient Church rejected Christ. The Sadducees and Pharisees joined forces to arrest him and hand him over to the Romans to be crucified. In order to continue the Church, Christ had to reorganize it and provide it with new leadership. The Jews remained hostile and persecuted the Christians as long as they were in a position to do so.

Their rejection of God when he came as their Messiah led to their own self-destruction. By 65 A.D. the Zealots had gained control of Jerusalem. They revolted against the Roman Empire, and were defeated in the Jewish War that ended in a horrible siege and destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The loss of the Temple caused the collapse of the Sadducees' party. A further revolt in 132 A.D. resulted in the final destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Zealots' movement. Only the Pharisees were left and, in order to include all the Jews, they lowered their standards. They continued to demand strict observance of the ceremonial Law, but instead of insisting on perfection they taught that a 51% average would assure salvation. The modern Orthodox Jews are their descendants.

Down through the centuries the Jews have persisted as a homeless and often persecuted minority. Those who have persecuted them have sinned grievously and must answer for it. But the root of the Jews' tragedy is their rejection of their Messiah. The majority of the ancient Church refused to fulfil the destiny for which they had been prepared. They rejected Christ and shut themselves out of the new Israel, the Holy Catholic Church. There will be no real solution to the Jewish

¹ See Matt. 12:1-14, 15:1-11.

problem until they repent and are converted. One of the major sins of Christians throughout the centuries is their failure to make a persistent and loving effort to convert the Jews.

3. The Call and Training of the Apostles

Not all the Jews were included in the three leading parties. There were also humble, devout Jews who were patiently waiting for God's redemption. For the most part they were poor—Galilean peasants and fishermen. It was from these that our Lord was able to draw his disciples. He was also successful in converting outright sinners, such as publicans (tax collectors), Mary Magdalene, the Penitent Thief, etc.

The basis of discipleship was a personal response to Christ himself. He called men and women to leave all and follow him. Those who did lived with him as he journeyed about Galilee and visited Jerusalem. They heard him preach, they saw his miracles, they watched how he dealt with the problems presented to him. In this way they came to know his character. And since he was God living a human life, they were able to see God translated into human terms which they could understand.

It cannot be overemphasized that Christian discipleship rests on a personal relationship to God in Christ. But that relationship led at once to the inclusion in a group, a society, a fellowship with the other disciples. Here, right at the start, we find the two fundamental elements in the Church. The Church is a social organism composed of individuals united to Christ and through him to each other.

The term disciple is usually used to refer to the whole group of our Lord's followers, men and women. Out of this group he chose Twelve to be Apostles. Their names are given in Chart II. These were the leaders of the newly constituted Church. They received special training and commission.

When God came in Christ to redeem the world he did far more than the greatest hopes of the pre-Christian Church could have anticipated. Even his sincere followers found it hard to understand and believe. Three truths in particular were especially difficult for our Lord to reveal to his disciples.

1. He is God made Man. God did not send an agent. He came himself. Christ is God the Son living a human life in complete human nature. We shall see later on how the Church expresses this truth in more detail. For our present purpose it is enough to point out that Christ is both fully God and fully man.

CHART II. THE APOSTLES

<i>Name¹</i>	<i>Other Names</i>	<i>Background</i>	<i>Labors and Death</i>
Peter	Simon	Son of Jonah. Fisherman of Capernaum of Galilee	Leader of early Church in Jerusalem, Antioch and probably Rome. Crucified head down on cross. Author of Epistles (?)
Andrew		Brother of Peter	Possibly preached in Scythia, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece; crucified on X cross
James (the Great) John	Boanerges Boanerges	Son of Zebedee and Salome. Fisherman in Galilee Brother of James the Great	Beheaded by Herod in Jerusalem, 44 A.D. Cared for Virgin Mary. Possibly boiled in oil in Rome; slave on Patmos. Probably Bishop of Ephesus; author of Gospel, Epistles; Revelation (?)
James (the Less)		Probably one of "Brethren of the Lord"	Probably Bishop of Jerusalem; thrown from pinnacle of Temple. Author of Epistle (?)
Jude	Thaddaeus Lebbaeus	Possibly brother of James the Less	
Philip		From Bethsaida of Galilee	
Bartholomew	Nathanael	From Cana of Galilee	Claimed as Apostle by Macedonia; Arabia, Armenia; flayed alive
Matthew	Levi	Son of Alphaeus. Tax collector of Capernaum of Galilee	Claimed as Apostle by Ethiopia. 'Author' of Gospel
Thomas	Didymus	Probably from Galilee	Claimed as Apostle by Persia and India; killed by spears or arrows
Simon	Zelotes	Probably from Galilee	
Judas	Iscaiot	Probably from Kerioth of Judea	Traitor. Hanged himself
Matthias		Chosen to take Judas' place	
Paul ²	Saul	Born in Tarsus. A Pharisee, Roman citizen, rabbi, studied under Gamaliel in Jerusalem. Converted c. 35 A.D.	Apostle to Antioch, Asia Minor, Greece, prisoner in Rome. Beheaded there in Nero's persecution. Author of Epistles

Notes: 1. Names as used on Prayer Book Feasts are listed in first column.

2. Ranks as an Apostle, though he was not one of the Twelve.

(Saul)

2. He was to redeem man and establish his Kingdom by giving his life as a sacrifice for human sin. This was the exact opposite of the idea of the warrior Messiah, which was so popular a concept in our Lord's day that even the disciples themselves held it. Yet at least one prophet had foretold the truth. Read Isaiah 53: 2-10.

Our Lord's willing offering of himself to the suffering and death of the cross was essential to the redemption of mankind. The Church has expressed this truth in many ways. At least three of them should be included in one's belief on the subject:

a) God's willingness to suffer and die for us is the supreme example of his love for each individual soul.

b) Man is a free and responsible agent. His sin is a deliberate rejection of God's love. He must make up for this insult before he can fully be forgiven. But no sinner can make up for sin. He is a creature of God's love and owes God a perfect response of love. No one can love God more than he ought to love him. Therefore he cannot make up for past failures to love. Any penalty or suffering the sinner receives is less than he deserves. Christ, however, lived a perfect human life, loved God perfectly. He therefore did not deserve the penalty of sin—suffering and death. When he accepted these of his own free will on behalf of sinners, he made the "full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."

c) Sin is a disease which must be healed. Our Lord's human nature was perfect; it had all the powers God originally gave to man and none of the results of human sin. In that human nature he lived a life of perfect obedience to the Father's will—"obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." He gives this restored human nature to all sinners who take up their cross and follow him.

3. The third idea which was difficult for the Apostles to grasp was that salvation was open to all men, Gentiles and Jews, on equal terms. This was to be revealed to the Church through the experiences of Saints Peter and Paul.

The other two truths, our Lord's divinity and the meaning of Calvary, were revealed by the Resurrection of Christ. He returned to the Apostles in triumphant glory, demonstrating that on the cross he had conquered sin and death. St. Thomas hailed him with the words, "My Lord and my God." Our Lord established a new and abiding relationship with his Apostles—"Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." In this new relationship the disciples shared the life of the Risen Christ; they put on the Lord Jesus.

4. The Equipment of the Apostles

The Apostles were the first ministers of the newly organized Church. In order to equip them for this work Christ gave them four things:

1. He gave them the Gospel—the good news of man's redemption through Christ; the fundamental truths about God and Man; and the way in which man can do the will of God, thereby sharing in the life of Christ. Our Lord had taught them all this in a way which they could hardly forget. His preaching had taken the form of parables (illustrative stories), pithy sayings, and poems (such as the Beatitudes). And the dramatic acts of his life—his miracles, suffering, death, resurrection and ascension—impressed the fundamental truths even more vividly upon them. This constituted "the Faith which was once delivered unto the saints," which the Apostles were commissioned to teach all nations.

2. Christ gave them the Sacraments—acts by which he could continue his work on earth through his Body the Church. Each Sacrament has an outward and visible sign, some acts and words, which, when properly performed, enable Christ to convey certain inward and spiritual grace to those who receive the Sacrament.

Traditionally there are seven Sacraments:

a) Baptism. Christ had his disciples take over the ceremony of washing from St. John the Baptist, changing the words to "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The grace given is forgiveness of sin and membership in the Body of Christ.

b) Holy Communion. At the Last Supper Christ took bread and said, "This is my Body." He took wine and said, "This is my Blood." He commanded the Apostles to "do this in remembrance of me." When a priest does this, Christ becomes present on the Altar in the bread and wine. The worshipper may join with him in offering his sacrifice once more on earth to the Father. He enters the souls of those who receive Holy Communion.

c) Confirmation. The sign is the laying on of hands by a bishop; the grace is strength for Christian life.

d) Penance or Confession. The sign is confession of sin and absolution by a priest; the grace is forgiveness of sin and strength for combating temptation.

e) Holy Matrimony. The sign is the vows of man and wife; the grace is power for Christian family life.

f) Holy Orders. The sign is the laying on of hands by a bishop; the grace is power and authority to perform the work of a deacon, priest or bishop.

g) Holy Unction. The sign is anointing with oil by a priest; the grace is healing of body (if it be God's will) and of soul.

3. Christ also gave the Apostles authority to act as his agents in teaching the Faith and in administering the Sacraments. Read Matthew 28: 18-20; John 20: 22-23.

4. Christ sent the Holy Spirit, the Third Person in God, to the Apostles to dwell in them and in the Church. This occurred on the Feast of Pentecost (Whitsunday), ten days after the Ascension. Read Acts 2: 1-4.

CHAPTER II

The Apostolic Church

A. THE JEWISH CHRISTIAN CHURCH

1. The Church at Jerusalem

(Acts 2:1-5:42)

THE HOLY SPIRIT manifested his coming to the early Church in extraordinary ways. This was necessary in order that men could know with certainty that he had come. It was also necessary that the Apostles be guided and strengthened by miraculous help as the Church started on its way. They were pioneers with no established traditions to guide them. God had to make his presence felt and his will known by dramatic and unmistakable signs.

To begin with, the Holy Spirit signalized his coming by "a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind" and "cloven tongues like as of fire" which "sat upon each" of the disciples. They were filled with intense joy which expressed itself in the speaking with tongues, shouts and cries in unknown languages. But the disciples did not keep their joy to themselves. They were impelled by missionary zeal to rush out into the street and tell others. The crowd at first thought the disciples were drunk, as their enthusiasm was so unrestrained. St. Peter reassured them on this point and proceeded to preach the first Christian sermon. Its theme was, "God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ."

The Holy Spirit worked not only on the disciples, but also on the hearts of their hearers. The crowd that gathered when the disciples

first emerged consisted of Jews from all over the world. They were amazed to hear the disciples speaking in their own native tongues. By the time Peter had finished his sermon, the Holy Spirit had so pricked their hearts that they asked what they should do. Upon being told to repent and be baptized, about three thousand received that Sacrament that day.

The power to perform miracles of healing was also given to the disciples. The first recorded instance of this was Peter and John's healing of the lame beggar at the Temple gate. The man had been a cripple from birth, yet at Peter's command he leapt up and walked. This attracted further attention to the Apostles and led to more conversions.

It also brought the opposition of the authorities upon the Apostles. The Jewish leaders had crucified Christ. They hoped that had ended his dangerous movement. Now the Apostles were raising the whole problem again by their assertion that Jesus had risen from the dead. Their popularity and success in winning converts were spectacular. This posed a problem to the authorities. They were determined to stamp this movement out. Yet they had to move cautiously because they feared the people.

Peter and John were arrested and questioned privately before the Sanhedrin, the chief council of the Jews. They hoped by threats to silence the Apostles. Again the Holy Spirit manifested himself, giving the Apostles the power to speak boldly to the Sanhedrin. When commanded to refrain from preaching, the Apostles replied, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." After the council had released them, they returned at once to their preaching.

The manifestation of the Holy Spirit which seems strangest to us is the episode of Ananias and Sapphira. In their initial enthusiasm, the disciples sold all their possessions and gave the proceeds to the Apostles. All the Church lived on a common purse. The selling of one's possessions was optional, but it was considered the thing to do. A man and wife named Ananias and Sapphira wanted to get credit for having performed this act of charity. They sold their property, but kept back part of the price. Ananias brought the remainder of the proceeds to Peter to whom the deception was miraculously revealed. He accused Ananias of it and the latter fell dead at Peter's feet. Later Sapphira came in and Peter asked her for how much the property had been sold. She told him only that portion of the price which her

husband had handed over. Peter then accused her of deceit, and she also dropped dead.

We find it hard to think of God manifesting himself in this way. Yet it was necessary that the early Church be shown that the power of God which they received on becoming Christians was an holy power that could not be trifled with. The clue to the episode is Peter's statement, "Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." It is dangerous for a Christian not to be holy since he is united to an holy God. Christians were not going to drop dead every time they sinned for the rest of Christian history. But the Church had to be shown at the start what the result of sin really is like. Ananias and Sapphira were the vivid examples.

The account of the Apostles' steadfastness in the face of further persecution should be read in Acts 5: 17-42. Notice that from the beginning Christians counted it a joy and privilege to suffer for Christ, who by his sufferings had redeemed them.

The spectacular manifestations of the Holy Spirit were necessary to the early Church. But many of them were not intended to last. Courage in the face of persecution has been given to faithful Christians of every age and even the power to work miracles has persisted in the saints. The more emotional signs of the Spirit gradually died out. Even St. Paul and St. John warned against trying to continue them.¹ Now that the Church is established, the Holy Spirit guides it, not through extraordinary manifestations, but by the Creeds, the decision of Councils and the ordinary teaching of the Faith. Power to live the Christian life is conveyed through Sacraments and prayer more than through miraculous interference with the laws of nature.

Nevertheless there have been Christian groups down through the centuries who have tried to recapture the spectacular manifestations of the Holy Spirit. They have worked themselves up into an emotional frenzy which is expressed in shouting, speaking with tongues and rolling on the floor. They have believed themselves capable of handling dangerous snakes and drinking poison.² Though there is a superficial resemblance between this and the experience of the Apostles, these self-induced ecstasies are not the work of the Holy Spirit. Those who indulge in them are not strengthened for Christian living. They are left nervously exhausted by their experiences. They always form groups which separate from the Church and become the victims of false teaching in regard to both Faith and morals.

¹ See I Cor. 14; I John 4: 1.

² Compare Mark 16: 18; Acts 28: 3-5.

2. The Martyrdom of St. Stephen

(Acts 6:1-8:4)

At the start the Apostles were the only ministers of the newly organized Church. It soon became necessary for them to have assistants.

The first converts were not drawn solely from Palestinian Jews. The Holy Spirit came on the Jewish Feast of Pentecost, the annual commemoration of the giving of the Law. The Jews in those days were living all over the world. It was the custom for Jews who did not live in Palestine to visit Jerusalem as often as possible. These foreign Jews tried to arrange their visits so that they could be present for one of the great feasts. Hence at Pentecost there would be large numbers of foreign Jews in Jerusalem.

Most of them would not speak Aramaic (the current form of Hebrew). Greek, the trading language of the Roman Empire, was the commonest tongue among foreign Jews. The Greek-speaking Jews organized themselves into separate synagogues—the Jewish equivalent of the modern parish.

The Greek-speaking Jews who were converted to Christianity soon began complaining that they were not receiving their share of attention from the Apostles, all of whom were Palestinian Jews. The latter solved the problem by having the Greek-speaking Jewish Christians choose seven of their number to be made assistant ministers to the Apostles. When chosen, they were ordained by the Apostles by the laying on of hands. (Acts 6: 5-6.) As the function of these new ministers was supposed to be to "serve tables," they have been traditionally known as the first deacons, although they are not so called in the Bible. They soon began preaching, which is not a characteristic part of the deacon's office.

The most famous of these seven subordinate ministers is St. Stephen. His preaching to the Greek-speaking Jews won many converts in his synagogue. The Jews who were not converted, however, were led by the fanatically devout Saul of Tarsus, who was to be known later as St. Paul. At this time Saul was violent in his defense of the Jewish privileges which depended on the Law. He already recognized that Christianity would undermine the Jewish ceremonial Law and would destroy the superiority of the Jews to the Gentiles. Therefore Saul vigorously persecuted the Jewish Christians. He had Stephen arrested and tried before the Sanhedrin.

Stephen made no apologies for his Christianity. He defended it by showing how Christ fulfilled the Jewish hopes of a Messiah. He ac-

cused the Jews of being murderers of the Messiah and of failing to keep the Law as well as the Jewish Christians did. This angered both the crowd and the Sanhedrin. Without waiting for a condemnation, the mob seized Stephen and, dragging him out of the city, stoned him to death. Stephen was the first Christian martyr. He made a glorious end. Read Acts 7: 54-8: 2.

The death of Stephen had four important consequences:

1. It set the pattern for Christian martyrdom. Thousands were to follow Stephen in courageously defending Christianity in the face of persecution. They were to imitate him in forgiving their persecutors and in accepting suffering and death with joy.

2. Our Lord's appearance to Stephen demonstrated his approval of his constancy. It showed the early Church that to be faithful unto death was both a Christian duty and the greatest Christian privilege. It was called the "crown of martyrdom." This belief not only has helped Christians of every age to be faithful in the face of persecution. It has even led devout Christians to welcome eagerly the opportunity to die for Christ.

3. The persecution that resulted in the death of Stephen was directed chiefly against the Greek-speaking Jewish Christians. It seemed wise to the Church for them to leave Jerusalem. Accordingly they went back to their home cities. This spread Christianity, since they took the Faith with them and won converts in the Jewish colonies all over the ancient world. Two cities in which they met with conspicuous and immediate success were Damascus and Antioch.

4. The death of Stephen was the cause of the final struggle which led to the conversion of St. Paul.¹

3. Missions from Jerusalem

(Acts 8:5-40; 9:32-11:18)

St. Philip, another of the Greek-speaking Jewish Christians who was ordained at the same time as Stephen, was among those who left Jerusalem after the latter's death. Philip went to Samaria where he made many converts. Since Philip was a member of a lower rank of minister than the Apostles, he could not administer the Sacrament of Confirmation which requires a bishop. Philip, therefore, baptized his converts and sent word to Jerusalem. Peter and John came up and confirmed them by the laying on of hands, whereupon they received the Holy Ghost.

¹ See pp. 25-29.

One of Philip's converts was Simon the sorcerer. He was baptized but was not among those confirmed. When he saw the others receive the Holy Ghost he offered the Apostles money if they would confirm him. Peter indignantly refused. The sin of buying some spiritual benefit or office is designated by a word derived from Simon's name—simony.

Philip proceeded south of Jerusalem where he met a eunuch of the court of Queen Candice who was returning to Ethiopia. Philip joined himself to him and found him reading from Isaiah 53. When Philip explained that this prophecy was fulfilled in Christ, the eunuch was converted. Philip baptized him.

Peter went to Lydda where he healed Aeneas who had had the palsy for eight years. In nearby Joppa, a devout woman named Dorcas died. They sent for Peter, who came and raised her from the dead.

In Caesarea there was a centurion named Cornelius. He was a Gentile, but he had become interested in the Jewish religion. He was unwilling to become a Jew. The Jews, in their eagerness to convert the Gentiles, had made provision for this situation. They allowed the Gentiles who were interested to join in some of the synagogue worship and to keep the moral law. They were known as "God-fearers." Most of the synagogues in pagan cities had a fringe of "God-fearers." Although Caesarea was in Palestine, it was really a pagan city. It had been built by the Romans as a headquarters for the Governor and the Roman Legions. Cornelius, an officer of the Roman army, was a "God-fearer" connected with the synagogue there.

An angel appeared to Cornelius and bade him send to Joppa for Peter. He sent three servants on this errand. Meanwhile Peter was having a siesta when he dreamt that a sheet was lowered from heaven. On it were all sorts of animals, those a Jew was permitted to eat, and those he was not. A voice from heaven commanded Peter to kill and eat. Peter protested that he had never eaten forbidden meats. The voice then said, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." The dream was repeated three times and then Peter was told that three men would come for him. He was to go with them.

The servants of Cornelius arrived. Peter set out with them. He was beginning to understand the point of his dream. The Jews thought they were forbidden to have any dealings with the Gentiles, except what was absolutely necessary. Apparently God had, in some sense, cleansed the Gentile Cornelius, so that it was all right for Peter to visit him and to preach the Gospel to him.

When Peter arrived at Cornelius' house, the family and servants

were collected. Peter preached Christ to them. While he was speaking the Holy Ghost came upon Cornelius and his household. When Peter saw this, he exclaimed, "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" He proceeded to baptize them. These were, as far as we know, the first Gentiles to be taken into the Church.

The Jewish Christians at Jerusalem were horrified when they heard what Peter had done. They demanded that he give an account of the matter. He explained the dream and the subsequent events. The Jerusalem Church was convinced that Peter had done right. God apparently intended the Gentiles to be taken into the Church.

We must distinguish carefully between three different groups of Christians in the Church at this time:

1. The Palestinian Jewish Christians, converted Jews who lived in Palestine and spoke Aramaic. The original Apostles belonged to this group.

2. The Greek-speaking Jewish Christians who lived in all the chief cities of the Roman Empire. Stephen and Philip the Deacon, Barnabas and Paul were members of this group. They were full-fledged Jews, but because they had lived in Gentile cities, their point of view differed from that of their Palestinian brethren.

3. The Gentile Christians. They were not Jews and had become Christians without first becoming Jews. They were drawn first from among the "God-fearers," who were attracted by the moral Law of the Jews but who balked at the ceremonial Law. If Christianity could give them the former without the latter, they could be converted in great numbers. But could they become Christians in the full sense of the word without first becoming Jews? Or were Jewish Christians to remain a superior group to Gentile Christians? These were the first important questions the Church had to answer.

4. The Palestinian Jewish Church

(Acts 11:19-12:17)

The Palestinian Jews had little contact with the Gentiles. To them the Gentiles were represented chiefly by the hated Roman officials and soldiers who controlled Palestine. The only Jews who had dealings with them were the Sadducee collaborationists and the publicans. The movement to convert the Gentiles to the Jewish religion found little support in Palestine. The native Jews lived their own lives and looked forward to the day when they would be relieved of the Roman yoke.

The original Apostles were all Palestinian Jews. They did not consider that they ceased to be Jews in any sense when they became Christians. Christ to them was simply the hoped-for Jewish Messiah. He had kept the Jewish Law. We know that, because the Pharisees, who were trying to discredit him by showing that he failed to keep the Law, could charge him with only very minor violations. The Apostles expected to go right on being Jews, keeping the Law to the full. At first they hoped to convert all the Jews to the acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah. When they saw this would be impossible, they still thought of themselves as the leaders of a Jewish sect.

Acts 2:42-47 gives a description of life in the Jerusalem Church. Note that the Christians "continued daily . . . in the Temple." They kept up the Jewish forms of worship. To this they added the belief that the Messiah had come and the special Christian service of "breaking bread," the Holy Communion.

It never occurred to the Palestinian Christians that the Gentiles were to be admitted to the Church in any numbers without first becoming Jews. Even after the admission of Cornelius, there remained a party of Palestinian Christians who believed the Church had made a mistake in admitting him without requiring him to be circumcised. They were in the minority, however. The majority accepted the validity of the divine revelation given Peter which led him to baptize Cornelius. But they were inclined to view this transaction as an exception rather than the rule. They wanted to be very cautious about admitting Gentiles, and they objected to any idea of giving the Gentiles equality with the Jewish Christians. When they heard that the Gentiles were being converted in large numbers at Antioch, they sent St. Barnabas to deal with the situation.

The first leaders of the Jerusalem Church were Peter and John. In 44 A.D., Herod arrested and beheaded James, the brother of John. He was the first Apostle to suffer martyrdom. Herod then arrested Peter and intended to put him to death also. But Peter was miraculously released from prison by an angel and he left Jerusalem. James, "the Lord's brother,"¹ became the head of the Church there.

As such he presided at the Apostolic Council² and rendered the verdict in favor of admitting the Gentiles to equality in the Church. The Palestinian Christians never fully accepted the verdict, however. They remained hostile to the admission of the Gentiles. They them-

¹ In oriental countries the word "brother" denotes any kinship. Tradition says the Virgin Mary had but one Child.

² See p. 31.

selves were conspicuous for their faithfulness to the Temple and Jewish Law. James is said to have prayed so much in the Temple that his knees became calloused like those of a camel.

The Jerusalem Church continued to be the Mother Church of Christianity, even in Gentile Christian circles. St. Paul was diligent in uniting his Churches to Jerusalem, collecting alms for the support of the Church there. In 66 A.D., came the Jewish revolt against Rome. The Jewish Christians took no part in it and were warned to flee Jerusalem before the final siege. After the destruction of the city and the Temple, the Jewish Christians returned and re-established the Church. In 132-135 Jerusalem was destroyed again, and this time the Roman Empire forbade the Jews, including the Jewish Christians, to return. Jerusalem became a Gentile city. Eventually there was a small Gentile Christian Church there, but it remained unimportant until the fourth century when St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, rediscovered and restored the Holy Places.

The Jewish Christian Church lingered on around the fringes of Palestine. It cut itself off from the main stream of Christianity by its opposition to the Gentile Christians. Finally it dried up altogether. This shows us what would have happened to Christianity if it had remained just a Jewish sect and had not welcomed the Gentiles into its fold.

B. THE MISSION TO THE GENTILES

I. The Conversion of St. Paul

(Acts 9: 1-22; 22: 4-16; 26: 11-19)

We turn back now to the martyrdom of St. Stephen in order to follow another line of development started by that event.

Stephen's chief accuser was Saul of Tarsus. He was a Greek-speaking Jew born in the Gentile city of Tarsus in Asia Minor. His father was a Roman citizen. It was the custom of the Empire to bestow citizenship on outstanding natives in the various territories it governed. Saul inherited the rights and privileges of citizenship from his father. Unlike the Palestinian Jews, he took great pride in his membership in the Roman Empire. He also knew much of Gentile culture, and although he recognized its moral evils he also appreciated its values. Tarsus was a university town. It is unlikely that Saul the Jew would have studied in the Gentile schools. But the ideas taught there definitely influenced his thinking.¹

¹ In Acts 17:28, he quotes a pagan philosopher who taught in Tarsus.

Saul and his family were strict Pharisees. They believed that God had given the Law to the Jews. It was a Covenant, a contract. If the Jews kept the Law perfectly, God would prosper them in this world and the next. Failure to keep it meant disaster, both national and personal. Saul, unlike many Pharisees, had a tender conscience. He was not smugly self-satisfied with his keeping of the Law. He knew he had failed in many ways and there was nothing he could do to make up for his failures.

In spite of his sense of failure, Saul was not tempted to give up the Law. One reason for this was the realization of the value of the Law, even when imperfectly kept. Saul knew that it was the Law that protected the Jew who lived in a Gentile city from losing his religion in the culture and vices of a pagan society. The Law made the Jew so different from the Gentile in regard to customs of food, clothing, marriage, etc., that it served as a wall, cutting him off from his non-Jewish neighbors. Even though Saul himself were to be damned for his failure to keep the Law, he knew its necessity. He was prepared to defend it with a grim and ruthless fanaticism.

After his education in Tarsus, Saul was sent to Jerusalem to study under Gamaliel, the leading Pharisee Rabbi. Whether this was before or after our Lord's public ministry we do not know. But it is very likely that Saul was not in Jerusalem when our Lord was there, since he never refers to having seen him before the Risen Christ appeared on the Damascus road.

Saul was certainly in Jerusalem shortly after the Ascension. The Christian Church inevitably attracted his attention and he analyzed its position carefully. As a result he reached a different conclusion from his teacher. Gamaliel advocated an attitude of watchful waiting in regard to Christianity. If the movement was not of God, it would die out. If it was of God, the Jews did not want to put themselves in the position of fighting against God.

Saul wanted to take a stronger line. Two factors led him to this position. First, he was convinced that Christianity would destroy the Law in the sense that Saul valued it. It was not because the Jewish Christians were failing to keep the Law that Saul reached this conclusion. They were keeping the Law with more than ordinary care. It was because Saul saw that Christ's teaching, if carried to its logical conclusion, would make the ceremonial Law useless. Saul saw this before the Christians themselves did. In fact it was to be Saul, when he was converted, who would demonstrate this truth to the Church.

Christ had taught that love is superior to Law, and that the Law must be violated when it conflicts with the demands of love. He exalted the moral Law above the ceremonial Law. He offered forgiveness and redemption to all who would follow him. This placed the basis of salvation not in keeping the Law but in faith—belief in Christ and surrender to him. Christ clearly predicted that Gentiles would be included in the Kingdom. All this convinced Saul that he must destroy Christianity if he would save the Law.

The second reason for his hostility to Christianity was his secret attraction to it. The Christians claimed to have received the Holy Spirit and they gave every evidence that the claim was true. They found in their belief that they had been forgiven the very joy which Saul could not find because of his known failures to keep the Law. Yet the Christians' joy gave them the power to do God's will better than Saul could, in spite of his determined efforts. This secret longing for Christianity was what gave violence to his attack on it as long as he believed Christianity to be evil.

Saul was on the horns of a dilemma. He believed the Law was God's Law, the means by which the Jew could be saved and the essential protection of the Jewish religion from degenerating into paganism. Yet Christianity, which he saw would destroy the Law, gave its members the Holy Spirit, forgiveness, joy, peace and heroic courage. As the tension mounted, Saul became more and more fanatical in his defense of the Law. The climax came in the death of Stephen, who, before he died, saw "the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God," and who prayed for his enemies, including Saul himself, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge."

Saul's first reaction was further violence. He set off for Damascus to persecute the Christians there. On the way, his dilemma was resolved. God had given the Law, but for a purpose. It was not to last forever. As Saul later expressed it, "The Law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ." The purpose of the Law was to teach the Jews enough about God so that they would recognize him when he came in Christ. No man can save himself, as Saul well knew, by his efforts to keep the Law. Not by works, but by faith we are saved. The Christian ideal of love does not destroy the Law. "Love is the fulfilling of the Law." It demands far more than the Law. It requires heroic virtue. (See Chart III.)

Saul's conversion was accompanied by the appearance to him of the Risen Christ. Read Acts 9: 1-20. Saul was temporarily blinded. A

CHART III. SAUL'S DILEMMA

Saul was convinced that Christianity would destroy the Law.

<i>In favor of the Law:</i>	<i>In favor of Christianity:</i>	<i>Solution:</i>
God had given the Law to the Jews.	Christians had received the Holy Spirit.	The Law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ.
The keeping of the Law was the means by which the Jew could be saved.	Saul could not keep the Law. Christians believed they had been forgiven and saved through Christ. They were filled with joy and power.	No man can save himself. We are saved by faith in Christ, not by works of the Law.
The exclusiveness of the Law kept the Jews from contamination by the pagan world.	Christians displayed more faithfulness in keeping the Law and achieved heroic virtue—courage in persecution, forgiveness of enemies, triumph in suffering.	Love is the fulfilling of the Law. It is a higher moral ideal.

Therefore, Saul concluded, the Law is not necessary to salvation.
Hence the Gentile Christians do not have to keep the Jewish Law.

Christian in Damascus named Ananias was sent to him to baptize him. On being baptized Saul regained his sight.

Saul's conversion experience led him to a momentous conclusion. Salvation was through faith in Christ. The works of the Law were no longer necessary now that Christ had come. Therefore it was not necessary for Christians to keep the ceremonial Law. The Gentiles refused to keep that Law. That was all right. They did not have to keep it. The Gentiles could become Christians without first becoming Jews.

2. The Apostolic Council, c. 50 A.D.

(Acts 9:23-30; Gal. 1:15-2:16; Acts 11:25-30; 13:1-15:40)

"Paul" was simply the Greek form of the Jewish name "Saul." As Saul of Tarsus is known to the Church as St. Paul, we shall use that form of his name from now on.

Paul did not enter on his apostolic ministry immediately after his conversion. He did testify in the synagogues of Damascus that he had become a Christian. After a short while he went off to Arabia for a period of prayer. Returning to Damascus, he worked there for three years, but the opposition of the unconverted Jews grew so strong that the disciples let Paul down in a basket over the city wall and he escaped to Jerusalem.

There he was introduced to Peter and James, "the Lord's brother," by Barnabas. After this he returned to Tarsus where he lived quietly for several years until Barnabas got him to help with the Church at Antioch.

Antioch gave Paul the opportunity to put into practice the conclusion he reached as a result of his conversion experience. Gentiles were coming into the Church in large numbers. The great question was, did they have to be kept separate from the Jewish Christians? Specifically, could Jews and Gentiles eat together when both were Christians? This was a vital question. The central act of the Christian Church was Holy Communion. This was still being celebrated just as our Lord did at the Last Supper. First, the bread was consecrated, broken and received. Then came a full meal. After supper the cup was consecrated and received. Unless Gentiles and Jews could eat together, they could not celebrate Holy Communion together.

Must the Gentile Church be organized separately from the Jewish Church until such time as the Gentiles adopted the Jewish ceremonial Law? Paul said no. Christ had made both Jews and Gentiles one. The ceremonial Law was not necessary to salvation. It was a heavy yoke to bind on the Gentiles. This should not be done. Jewish Christians

could continue to keep the ceremonial Law if they wished, but they must permit the Gentiles to join with them in celebrating Holy Communion.

Barnabas at first agreed with Paul in this and all went well for a time. Gentiles continued to pour into the Church. When there was a famine in Jerusalem, the Church at Antioch sent an offering by the hands of Barnabas and Saul. The latter told the Apostles what they were doing at Antioch. They were given full approval and specifically commissioned as Apostles to the Gentiles. When they returned to Antioch, they took John Mark, whom we know as St. Mark, with them.

Shortly after, Paul, Barnabas and Mark set out on the First Missionary Journey. They went to Cyprus. Sergius Paulus, the governor, called them before him to hear their teaching. One of the governor's advisers, a Jewish sorcerer named Bar-Jesus, opposed them. Paul declared the sorcerer would become blind for a time. He did, and the governor was converted.

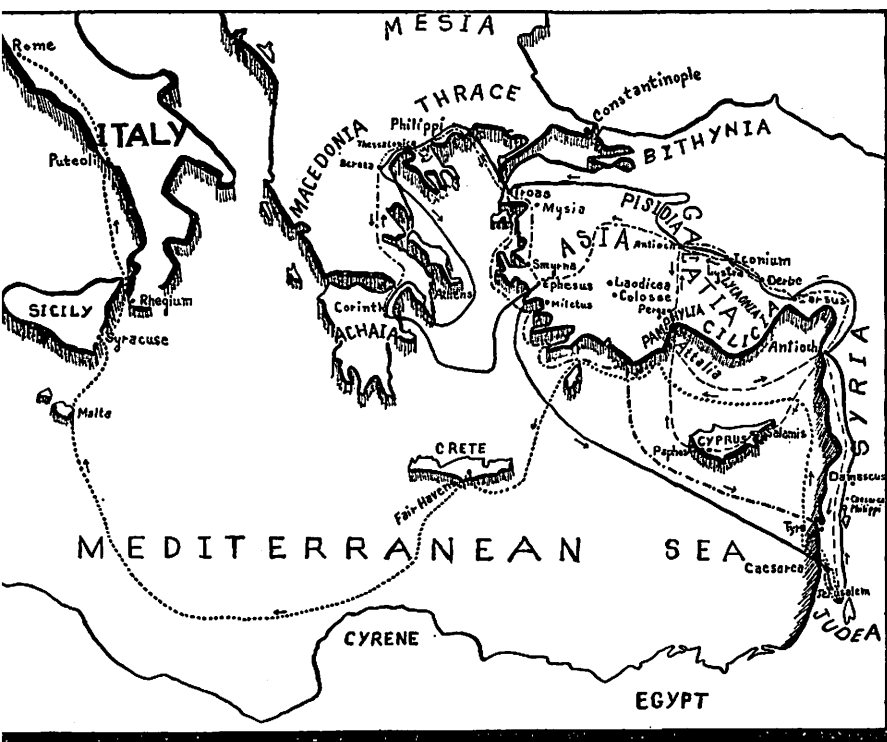
Paul and Barnabas then crossed to Asia Minor. This was too much for Mark, who returned to Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas went inland to Antioch in Pisidia. Paul preached in the synagogue and made many converts especially among the Gentile "God-fearers." The unconverted Jews stirred up the city against the Apostles and they were driven out. They proceeded to Iconium where much the same series of events took place.

At Lystra, the next stop, Paul healed a lame man and the pagans thought he and Barnabas were gods come to earth. The Apostles began to make converts among the Gentiles, but the Jews from Antioch and Iconium stirred the people against them. Paul was stoned and left for dead. But he recovered and the next day went with Barnabas to Derbe. There they planted the Church without encountering much opposition and then retraced their steps, encouraging and establishing the Christians in the other cities.

Some time after Paul and Barnabas got back to Antioch in Syria, the Church there was thrown into an uproar. The Jewish Christians in Jerusalem had heard of the full admission of the Gentiles into the Church. They prevailed on James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, to send messengers to Antioch with orders that Jewish and Gentile Christians must not eat together.¹ Peter, who was in Antioch and who had

¹ See Gal. 2: 12. This is almost certainly the real issue. Acts 15: 5 says it was a demand that the Gentiles be circumcised. This is most unlikely, since that matter was settled by the Baptism of Cornelius. There was a party advocating it at the

been eating with the Gentiles until the messengers arrived, stopped eating with them. Even Barnabas acquiesced in James' command. Only Paul stood firm. He "withstood [Peter] to the face." He probably wrote *Galatians* at this time, a letter to the Churches he had just founded in Asia Minor which were disturbed by repercussions of the dispute. Finally Paul won Peter and Barnabas back to his side and all three went to Jerusalem for the Apostolic Council, c.50 A.D. James, as Bishop of Jerusalem, presided. Peter spoke in favor of the Gentiles. Barnabas and Paul reported on the success of their mission to them. James proclaimed the verdict. The Gentiles were to be required only to "abstain from pollutions of idols [things which had been dedicated to idols], and from fornication, and from things strangled, and



JOURNEYS OF ST. PAUL

First Journey ----- Second Journey ————— Third Journey Voyage to Rome - . - . - .

time of the dispute, but they were a minority and hardly likely to have gained even the temporary support of James and Peter. Luke in *Acts* glosses over the Apostolic dispute as much as possible.

from blood." This was a compromise since the last two items were parts of the ceremonial Law. But in principle the issue was settled in favor of the Gentiles and in practice the last two restrictions were quickly and quietly dropped.

One result of the dispute was that Barnabas and Paul broke up their partnership. *Acts* says Mark was the occasion of the quarrel. Barnabas wanted to take him with them again. Paul objected because Mark had turned back on the first journey. It seems likely that the real root of the quarrel was Barnabas' wavering at Antioch. In the end Barnabas took Mark and went to Cyprus. Paul took St. Silas in Barnabas' place. Later Paul and Mark became close friends and co-workers.

3. St. Paul the Missionary

(Acts 16:1-28:31)

Paul and Silas set out from Antioch, traveling overland to visit the cities of Asia Minor where the Church had been established on the first journey. St. Timothy was added to their company in Lystra. They set out for Ephesus, but they were inspired to turn north and came finally to Troas where Paul had a dream calling him to Macedonia. They planted the Church in Philippi. Read Acts 16: 12-40.

They proceeded to Thessalonica where the unconverted Jews finally drove them out. The same thing happened at Berea. Paul went on ahead of the others to Athens, where he preached in the Areopagus. He could make little impression in the rarified intellectual atmosphere of Athens, however. He moved on to Corinth. This was one of the great centers of trade in the East. Paul stayed there for over a year, founding a strong though turbulent Church. It was a major feature of Paul's missionary policy to plant the Church in the great centers of trade from which it could radiate out into the surrounding country.

From Corinth Paul wrote the two letters to the Thessalonians. He met Aquila and Priscilla, Jewish Christians from Rome. After his stay in Corinth Paul decided to return to Jerusalem. He crossed to Ephesus, leaving Aquila and Priscilla there. Paul then sailed to Caesarea in Palestine and went up to Jerusalem.

On the Third Missionary Journey Paul revisited Antioch and the cities in Asia Minor where he had first founded the Church. He then proceeded to Ephesus where he spent a long time establishing the Church. Acts 19: 23-41 records an interesting episode. *I* and *II Corinthians* were written at this time. It has also been suggested that *Colossians*, *Ephesians* and *Philemon* were written at Ephesus. These

epistles have usually been attributed to Paul's imprisonment in Rome, but certain evidence in the letters makes Ephesus their probable place of writing.¹

After two years Paul left Ephesus and visited his Churches in Macedonia and Greece, spending three months in Corinth. Here he wrote his letter to the Romans. He then retraced his steps to Troas, gathering the collection he had already asked the Churches to raise for the Christians in Jerusalem. As he was in a hurry to reach that city, he sailed past Ephesus, but stopped at Miletus where the leaders of the Ephesian Church met him. He continued by ship to Caesarea and then went up to Jerusalem.

The chief features of Paul's missionary policy that should be noted are: 1) He planted the Church in the big centers of trade from which it could spread to the neighboring country. 2) He kept in touch with his Churches by letters and frequent visits. 3) He united his Churches to each other and to Jerusalem by getting them all to contribute to the support of the Mother Church. Just as he had first insisted on uniting the Jews and Gentiles in the Church, so he later was careful to bind the Churches in different cities together. He has been called the Apostle of Unity.

The growth of Christianity was very rapid. This was because God had prepared the Gentile world for the coming of the Gospel as carefully as he had prepared the Jews. The entire Mediterranean area was included in the Roman Empire, then at its height. It enjoyed a period of peace broken only by the Jewish War, 66-70. Excellent roads had been built and sea trade flourished. There was a common language—Greek—and a fine banking system. All this made rapid widespread communication possible. At the same time the Gentiles were hungry for a genuine spiritual life which the pagan religions rarely supplied.

Yet Paul's missionary labors involved many hardships. Read II Corinthians 11: 23-28. Travel, in spite of the Roman roads and the *pax romana*, was difficult and dangerous. Overland journeys had to be made on foot or horseback over hot, dusty roads. Ships were small and

¹ Their general tone fits this stage of Paul's ministry. Philemon was written to ask lenience in dealing with a runaway slave who had become a Christian and whom Paul was sending back to his master in Colosse. It is more likely that the slave would have run away to Ephesus, the large city nearest to Colosse and be sent back from there, than that he would make the long journey to and from Rome. The title of *Ephesians* is almost certainly a mistake. The letter was clearly written to a Church Paul had never visited. See Ephesians 1: 15 "after I heard of your faith."

unable to weather storms. (Paul was shipwrecked four times.) Highway robbers infested the outlying districts. In addition to the work of founding and guiding Churches, Paul insisted on earning his own living by tentmaking. He ran into much opposition in preaching the Gospel. His chief enemies were: 1) The unconverted Jews who were jealous of his success. When they could, they either punished him themselves or turned the Romans against him. 2) The Gentile idol-makers, soothsayers, etc., whose trade was hurt by Christianity. 3) Jewish Christians who continued to try to force the Gentile converts to keep the Law. Finally the converts themselves were constantly misunderstanding the Gospel, trying to introduce pagan practices and quarreling among themselves. Paul had to settle their disputes.

When Paul arrived in Jerusalem after his third journey, James persuaded him to make special Temple devotions to demonstrate his faithfulness to the Jewish religion. The unconverted Jews, however, were determined to kill Paul. They started a riot, falsely accusing him of having brought a Gentile into the Temple. The Roman soldiers rescued him. In order to find the cause of the trouble, the soldiers were about to examine Paul by scourging, when he claimed his Roman citizenship and was taken into protective custody.

The next day Paul was brought before the Sanhedrin, where he got the Pharisees and Sadducees fighting each other by proclaiming his belief in the resurrection, which the Sadducees denied. Paul learned that some Jews had sworn to kill him and told the Roman soldiers, who spirited him off to Caesarea. There the governor, Felix, kept Paul in prison two years hoping the Christians would pay a bribe to get him out. Some modern scholars think the letter to the *Philippians* was written during this imprisonment rather than the later one in Rome. The Christians "of Caesar's household" (Phil. 4: 22) are at this early date more likely to be minor functionaries of the Governor in Caesarea than officials or guards of the Emperor in Rome.

When Festus succeeded Felix as governor, he reviewed Paul's case and decided to send him back to Jerusalem to be tried by the Sanhedrin. Paul appealed to Caesar, and Festus sent him to Rome as a prisoner. On the way the ship was wrecked and cast up on the island of Malta. After wintering there Paul was taken to Rome. The *Book of Acts* leaves him in house arrest there awaiting trial.¹

¹ There is doubt about Paul's authorship of the other Epistles attributed to him, since they seem to have been written toward the end of the first century. If *I* and *II Timothy* and *Titus* are by Paul, they were written during his Roman imprisonment, *Hebrews* is a treatise probably written by a disciple of Paul.

4. The End of the Apostolic Age

We do not know whether Paul was acquitted in his trial at Rome. Tradition says that he was and that he continued his journeys, probably going to Spain and possibly making another trip to the East. He is said to have been beheaded at Rome in Nero's persecution, 64 A.D.

Peter also is supposed to have died in this persecution. There is a strong and quite early tradition that he went to Rome and died with St. Paul. He is said to have been crucified, and to have requested that he be hung head down on the cross.

The Roman Catholics claim that Peter was the first Pope and that Christ made him his Vicar on earth when he said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church." Peter and his immediate successors made no such claim. The words quoted were meant simply as a commendation of Peter's faith, and a recognition of his personal ability for leadership.

Two traditions have become firmly implanted in the Church's thought, though there is no historical evidence for them. The first is that all the Apostles except James, Bishop of Jerusalem, traveled widely preaching the Gospel. The second is that all the Apostles except John were martyrs. It is easy to see how these traditions could have arisen. Churches were eager to claim that an Apostle had founded them. Martyrdom was the most fitting climax to an Apostle's career.

Andrew is supposed to have carried the Gospel to Scythia, northern Asia Minor, Macedonia and Greece, and to have been crucified on an X cross. Bartholomew is associated with Mesopotamia, Arabia and Armenia. He is thought to have been flayed alive. Ethiopia claims Matthew as its Apostle; Persia and India claim Thomas, who is said to have been killed by spears or arrows while at prayer. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, is supposed to have been thrown from a pinnacle of the Temple. The traditions concerning the others are too vague and contradictory to be worth noting.

John took care of the Virgin Mary until her death. He then became Bishop of Ephesus. Tradition has it that he was sent to Rome, condemned as a Christian and cast into a cauldron of boiling oil. He was miraculously saved and sent as a slave to the mines of Patmos. There he is said to have written the *Book of Revelation*. As an old man he was released and returned to Ephesus, where he ruled the Church and wrote his Gospel and Epistles. He died a natural death about 100 A.D.

We know little about how Christianity reached Alexandria, the

chief city of Egypt. It must have been carried there very early and the Church rapidly became strong. It claims Mark as its founder. He wrote the second Gospel and is supposed to have been dragged through the streets until he died.

St. Luke, the author or editor of the third Gospel and the *Acts of the Apostles*, was probably a Gentile convert of St. Paul.

There is considerable doubt raised by modern scholars whether the Epistles of Peter, James and Jude were written by Apostles. *I Peter* may have been, and James, Bishop of Jerusalem, may be the author of the epistle that bears his name. There is little reason to think that Jude the Apostle had any connection with the epistle attributed to him, and *II Peter* is almost certainly a second century work.¹

By the end of the Apostolic Age the Church had spread throughout the Roman Empire, reaching perhaps even to Britain and Spain. The Church was established chiefly in the cities. Most of its members were poor. Read I Corinthians 1: 26-29. In the East, the main centers of Christianity, after the destruction of Jerusalem, were Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth and Edessa. Rome was from the start the leading Church in the West; Carthage in North Africa and Lyons in Gaul (France) were strong Church centers. Christianity spread into Persia, where it made many converts in the second and third centuries.

See Review Outline I. Lives of Saints Peter, John and Paul.

II. The Early Church.

¹ It was an accepted literary convention of the ancient world to write in the name of a famous person when you believed you were expressing his thought. It was not considered in any way dishonest. For this reason the Church was careful to check each book it included in the New Testament in order to make sure that its teaching was consistent with that which its supposed author had taught.

CHAPTER III

The Age of Persecution

A. THE PERSECUTIONS

I. The Causes of the Persecutions

THE ROMAN EMPIRE was a totalitarian state. It considered every act, word and thought of its subjects to be under its control. Before becoming an empire Rome had been a republic. Even then there had been a slave class completely at the mercy of their masters and the state. Only citizens had civil rights. As the Empire became established, the authority of government shifted more and more to the Emperor and the army. The rights of citizens degenerated into mere privileges and honors.

Religion was a department of the state. The gods of Rome had lost all religious significance for most people. The worship of them had become instead an expression of loyalty to the state. At first the chief gods of Rome were used for this purpose. Later the household deities of the Emperor became the object of veneration. Finally the Emperor himself was worshipped as a god. Every subject of the Empire was expected to take part in the worship; every public act from the sessions of the Senate down to the local food market opened with ceremonies of veneration to the state gods.

Rome was able to maintain this totalitarian tyranny because she coupled it with a wide toleration. As long as there was complete subjection and obedience to the Roman Empire, conquered peoples were allowed to run their local and private affairs to suit themselves. Thus

the Empire not only permitted but even encouraged local native religions. The only requirement was that, in addition to worshipping their own gods, the natives must worship the gods of the state. As these native religions were polytheistic, the adding of the Roman gods caused no difficulty. When this was done, the native religion was licensed, and its gods were included in the Pantheon (a temple to all gods) in Rome.

The one exception to this arrangement was the Jewish religion. The Jews believed there is only one God and he alone can be worshipped. Therefore they had to refuse to worship the Roman state gods. The Jews were so numerous, so widely scattered throughout the Empire, lived so much to themselves and made themselves so troublesome when their religion was interfered with, that the Romans decided they could be an exception. The Jewish religion was licensed without being required to include the worship of the Roman gods.

The great question of the first century was whether Christianity was a legal religion. Christians also believe there is only one God and that it is a sin to worship pagan deities. Therefore they had to refuse to acknowledge the state gods. They considered their religion to be licensed, nevertheless, because they thought of it as a continuation of the Jewish religion, sharing in its privileges. The early Christians were not hostile to the Empire. As we have seen, Paul was proud of his Roman citizenship, and he did not hesitate to use it occasionally to save himself from persecution by the Roman officials or by the Jews.

But the Roman Empire finally decided against the Christians. There were three reasons for this: 1) The unconverted Jews violently rejected Christianity and insisted that it was no part of their religion. They used all their influence to get the Empire to declare Christianity illegal. 2) Christianity was not a native religion drawing its members from one race and living to itself. It was a world-wide religion winning converts from every race. 3) Since only those who were baptized were allowed to participate fully in the life of the Church and all outsiders were excluded from the celebration of Holy Communion, it was in effect a secret society. This, coupled with its refusal to recognize the state gods and the wild rumors of what took place at its secret meetings, made Christianity look to the Empire like a subversive group.

The question was probably settled by the Domitian persecution, c. 93 A.D. We have definite evidence that Trajan, who became Emperor in 98, considered Christianity illegal.

Up until 250 A.D., there were no widespread systematic persecutions of Christians. There were, however, many local and occasional ones. The status of Christianity was that it was an illegal religion. The penalty for being a Christian could be loss of property, enslavement in the mines, torture or death. Although the law was not ordinarily enforced, it was on the books and could be evoked at any time. Christians were constantly at the mercy of the threat of punishment.

Local persecutions were precipitated in several ways:

a) The head of a Roman family had complete authority over his wife, children and slaves. If any member of his household was a Christian, he could, if he wished, put him to torture or death.

b) The Jews were ever ready to attack Christianity. An effective weapon was to denounce Christians to complaisant magistrates who were willing to enforce the law.

c) If a Christian had a personal enemy, the existence of the law against his religion could serve as a handy method of getting revenge against him. The enemy had simply to denounce him as a Christian and let the law take its course.

d) An overzealous magistrate might decide to enforce the law. Or if he wished to distract attention from his corruption or find a scapegoat to bear the guilt for his blunders, he could start a persecution of the Christians.

e) The pagans had the wildest notions of what went on at Christian meetings. They heard that the Christians received our Lord's Body and Blood in Holy Communion. The pagans concluded that cannibalism was involved. It took very little to whip them into an insane fury against the Christians. The mere knowledge that they were meeting in a certain house would set the mob upon them. In times of public disaster, which could easily be attributed to the anger of the gods at the refusal of Christians to worship them, the Christians were ferreted out and persecuted.

f) If victims were needed for the public games, Christians provided a source of supply right at hand.

Under the circumstances it is perhaps surprising that the persecutions were so few. The excellent Emperors during most of the second century restrained them somewhat. More respectable and intelligent persons were becoming Christians and many of the wild notions about Christian practices were dispelled by their writings. The rapid change of Emperors in the first half of the third century gave the Church a period of comparative peace and rapid growth.

2. The Great Persecutions

Decius became Emperor in 249. He determined to restore discipline and order to the Roman Empire. Inevitably he felt that the large and well-organized Christian Church, an illegal body which refused to give the required honor to the state, had to be suppressed.

He went about it in a systematic way. Decius published an edict in 250 which started the persecution. The Church was to be deprived of its leadership by arresting the bishops and putting them to death. The lower clergy and laity were to be forced to renounce Christianity. Magistrates were to assemble all Christians and command them to sacrifice to the Roman gods. Those who did so were set free. Those who fled were deprived of their property and forbidden to return. Those who refused to sacrifice were tortured and imprisoned until they changed their minds.

This persecution, coming suddenly and unexpectedly after a period of peace, caused many to renounce Christianity. It was made so easy for them to do so. A mere pinch of incense on the fire before the statue of a god—a gesture, they were assured, which had no religious significance—just an act of loyalty to the state—and they would be free. Sometimes the magistrate would sell them a signed statement that they had sacrificed without actually making them offer the incense. The Church considered the purchase of such a certificate to be the same as having sacrificed. The Christian who would not obey the state was threatened with torture and imprisonment. It took courage to endure scourgings, hour after hour on a rack, day after day in a foul prison, when a pinch of incense or even a small sum of money could procure immediate release. It is hardly surprising that many Christians renounced the Faith.

But the Church survived because many other Christians did find the courage to endure faithfully. It was a matter of vital importance. To offer incense to an idol was a flat denial of Christ. Christianity cannot recognize the existence of any other god; it cannot admit that any loyalty, not even loyalty to the state, takes precedence over one's duty to God. On entering the Church a Christian promises to take up his cross and follow Christ. If the cross means for us, as it did for him, suffering and death, that is no more than we have promised to endure. He bore it for love of us; we should be willing to bear it for love of him.

The Decian persecution ended with the death of the Emperor in 251. The Church again had peace for a few years. Valerian, who

became Emperor in 253, at first tolerated the Christians. But in 257 he revived the edicts against them. The next year he codified the penalties. Clergy of all ranks were to be put to death without hope of recantation. Noble laymen were to lose their rank and property, and if they would not renounce Christianity, be put to death. Ladies were to lose their property, and be exiled. Others were to be put to work as slaves if they would not recant. This persecution again ended with the death of the Emperor in 260.

The next Emperor declared it unlawful to molest Christians and gave the Church the right to possess property as a burial society. Thus Christianity became to some extent a legal religion. Church buildings became numerous. For the rest of the third century the Church had peace. The Empire, on the other hand, was in a state of chaos. Emperor followed Emperor in rapid succession, usually by having his predecessor murdered.

Diocletian became Emperor in 284. He was a strong man and determined to reorganize the Empire. Deciding it was too unwieldy for one man to rule, he made Maximian the Augustus of the West in 286, Diocletian remaining the Augustus of the East. In 293, two assistants were appointed with the rank of Caesars, Galerius in the East and Constantius in the West. It was further determined that, on the twentieth anniversary of Diocletian's accession, he and Maximian would retire and the Caesars would become Augusti.

This system worked excellently. The Empire gained strength and stability. As it did, the question of the Christians in the Empire arose. By this time the Church was very strong. It had members in influential positions, in the state and imperial household. Even Diocletian's wife and daughter were Christians. The pagans, however, were determined to oust the Christians because the toleration of this large number of people who refused to recognize the supremacy of the state hindered its consolidation along totalitarian lines.

Galerius decided that the Christians should be stamped out and finally in 303 persuaded Diocletian to issue edicts against them. The first decreed that churches were to be destroyed, Christian writings confiscated and all Christians deprived of rank and property and degraded to the position of slaves. A second edict ordered the arrest of all clergy, and a third said they were not to be set free until they had been forced to recant, by torture if necessary. Finally in 304 the death penalty was revived for Christians.

In 305 Diocletian and Maximian retired. In the West, except in

Africa, the persecution ceased for the time. But in the East Galerius became Augustus and continued the persecution in all its vigor until he was dying. In 311 he issued an edict of toleration.

3. The Spirit of Martyrdom

The heroism with which the faithful Christians endured the persecution and martyrdom is one of the great glories of the Church. We have already seen how the first martyr Stephen met death with unflinching courage and with forgiving love for his persecutors. That was to be the pattern for the thousands who followed him.

One of the noblest of the early martyrs was St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who was put to death sometime during the reign of Trajan, 98-117. It is said that he was arrested while Trajan was at Antioch, condemned and sent to Rome to be thrown to the lions in the amphitheater.

His journey to Rome, during which he was chained night and day to one of a band of soldiers who took delight in tormenting him, was nevertheless a triumphal procession. As he was taken from city to city in Asia Minor, the Church turned out to greet him. He for his part wrote letters to the Churches, seven of which have survived. They are most important Christian documents, shedding light on a dark period of Church History. We shall return to them again when we discuss the development of the ministry.

One letter is to the Church at Rome. It shows his attitude toward his approaching martyrdom. "I am afraid of your love, lest it should do me an injury. For it is easy for you to accomplish what you please; but it is difficult for me to attain to God, if ye spare me." What Ignatius fears is that the Roman Christians will use their influence to save him from martyrdom. He begs them not to do this. "For if ye are silent concerning me, I shall become God's; but if ye show your love to my flesh, I shall again have to run my race. Pray, then, do not seek to confer any greater favour upon me than that I may be sacrificed to God while the altar is still prepared . . . Only request in my behalf both inward and outward strength, that I may not only speak but [truly] will; and that I may not merely be called a Christian, but really be found to be one. . . . Suffer me to become food for the wild beasts, through whose instrumentality it will be granted me to attain to God. . . . May I enjoy the wild beasts that are prepared for me. . . . Let fire and the cross; let crowds of wild beasts; let tearings, breakings, and dislocation of bones; let cutting off of members; let shatterings of the whole body; and let all the dreadful torments of the devil come

upon me; only let me attain to Jesus Christ. . . . It is better for me to die in behalf of Jesus Christ, than to reign over all the ends of the earth. . . . Him I seek who died for us. . . . Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God."¹

This passage well illustrates the attitude of the early martyrs. Ignatius not only accepts martyrdom; he eagerly desires it as the quickest way to attain to union with Christ. At the same time he does not look on his human persecutors as the originators of his sufferings. They are the unwitting agents of the devil who is the real enemy of the Church.

The motive for martyrdom is love of Christ. Ignatius wants to give his life for our Lord who had died for him. It is a matter of personal loyalty to a loving Redeemer. This thought is even more beautifully expressed by St. Polycarp. He was Bishop of Smyrna at the time that Ignatius was martyred. Ignatius wrote one of his letters to him. In 156 Polycarp was arrested. When urged to renounce Christ he replied, "Eighty and six years have I served him and he never did me wrong, how then can I blaspheme my King who has saved me?"²

The strength with which to bear the torments of martyrdom came from union with Christ. St. Felicitas, a slave girl of North Africa, was sentenced to be thrown to the wild beasts. While she was waiting for her execution, she gave birth to a child. Hearing her cry out in the pains of child-birth, the jailor asked her how, if she could not bear that pain, she would endure the pains of martyrdom. She replied, "What I now suffer I suffer myself, but then there will be another who will suffer with me, because I also shall suffer for him."³

Many martyrs suffered incredible torments. In the early martyrdoms these were inflicted to satisfy the mob's fanatical hatred of the Christians and its lust for blood and suffering. Unfortunately the accounts of most of the martyrdoms were not written down until long after the event. By that time pious imagination may have colored the story and we cannot tell how much is accurate history. We do have, however, one first-hand contemporary account of a series of martyrdoms. In 177 a persecution hit the Church in Lyons and Vienne in Gaul. Over forty Christians were put to death in the arena or died in prison, including old men, women and a boy of fifteen. Several endured incredible tor-

¹ Ignatius, *Epistle to the Romans*. The translation is from *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, I., 74-6.

² Quoted by Foakes-Jackson, *The History of the Christian Church to A.D. 461*, p. 61.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

tures—repeated scourgings, burnings with hot plates, roastings over a fire, exposure to wild beasts. As soon as the persecution was over, the Churches of Lyons and Vienne wrote a detailed account of it to the Church in Asia. Selections of this letter have been preserved and can be read in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, 778-784.

The later martyrs were not subjected to mob hatred. Their tortures were designed to force them to recant. A well-authenticated example is the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Armenia, who suffered in 320. They were soldiers who were condemned to be exposed naked on a frozen lake in mid-winter. A fire and warm bath was kept ready on the shore for any who would renounce Christ. As they stepped on the ice they started to sing, "Forty warriors went out to fight: may forty warriors wear the crown." After a while one lost heart and returned to the fire. But a pagan soldier was so impressed with the constancy of the others that he cast off his clothes and joined them. Thus forty martyrs did receive the crown.

"The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church." Not only did the Church survive because of the faithfulness of her members in bearing persecution; the Church grew because of it. Spectators were impressed by the Christians' courage, love and triumphant joy. They saw clearly that the Christians had found a supernatural source of power. Many wanted it for themselves and were prepared to risk the torments of martyrdom to find it by becoming Christians.

4. The End of the Persecutions

Diocletian's plan for the Empire collapsed after he and Maximian retired in 305. Galerius became Augustus in the East and Constantius in the West. Maximin Daza was appointed Caesar in the East and Severus in the West. In 306 Constantius died. His son Constantine (274?-337) was proclaimed Augustus by the army at York in Britain. Galerius, however, conferred that title on Severus. The latter was not able to maintain his position. Maxentius, the son of Maximian, with the help of his father, defeated Severus and "allowed" him to commit suicide. Maxentius and Maximian both took the title Augustus. To balance things Galerius made Licinius an Augustus and raised Maximin Daza to that rank.

So by 308 there were six Emperors. Four of them, Galerius, Maximin Daza, Maximian, and Maxentius were persecutors of the Church. The other two, Constantine and Licinius, favored it.

Maximian and his son Maxentius soon quarreled. Maximian went over into Constantine's territory, quarreled with him and was forced

to commit suicide in 310. Galerius proclaimed toleration of Christianity before he died in 311. Maximin Daza, however, continued the persecution. In 312 Maxentius attacked Constantine. Their armies met at Milvian Bridge. There is a legend which says that on the eve of the battle Constantine saw a cross in the sky with the words, "In this sign conquer." The next day he defeated and killed Maxentius, becoming Emperor of the West.

Whether or not the legend is true, Constantine, who had never persecuted Christianity, began from this time to champion it. He put the cross on the standards of his legions. In 313 he issued the Edict of Milan which made Christianity a fully legal religion. Constantine was sincerely attracted by Christianity, although he was not actually baptized until just before his death in 337. But his championing of Christianity had a political motive as well. The Church was a large, well-organized unity throughout the world. The Empire, on the other hand, was falling apart. Constantine hoped that with the help of the Church he could unify the Empire.

The same year, 313, saw a temporary end of the persecution in the East. Licinius defeated Maximin Daza, who died shortly thereafter. In 314 Licinius and Constantine went to war with each other. Constantine won and reduced the territory which Licinius ruled to the eastern quarter of the Empire. The latter, who had previously favored Christianity, became in 316 a persecutor of the Church. The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste suffered in this persecution. In 323 Constantine again fought and defeated Licinius. This time Constantine became the sole Emperor. The six Augusti of fifteen years earlier had been reduced to one, and that one was to all intents a Christian. The Church had captured the Empire.

As early as 313, however, the Church had disappointed Constantine's political hopes for it. It emerged from persecution not the unified body the Emperor had expected. The North African Church was torn by the Donatist schism. A schism is a breaking away from the Church which is caused not by false doctrine but by an administrative dispute. Heresy is a break caused by false doctrine.

The Donatist schism grew out of the persecution in the North African Church during the reign of Maxentius and Maximian. The Bishop of Carthage and his archdeacon did all they could to keep Christians from seeking martyrdom unnecessarily. This led the fanatically devout to accuse them of being unfaithful to the Church. When the archdeacon subsequently became bishop, the fanatics held a secret meeting at which they deposed him on false charges and elected a rival.

This split the North African Church. As the great leader of the fanatics was a man named Donatus, they were called the Donatists.

The Donatists appealed to Constantine, who appointed a committee to investigate. It declared the Donatists to be in the wrong. They refused to accept the verdict. In 314 Constantine called the Council of Arles, which again decided against the Donatists. Incidentally, three British bishops attended that council. Still the Donatists would not accept the verdict. In 316 Constantine published an edict against them. They would not submit and many lost their lives. This only served to perpetuate the Donatist schism. It became the rallying point for North African nationalist opposition to the Empire.

When Constantine became sole Emperor, he decided to shift the capital of the Empire to the East. For this purpose he built Constantinople. From then on, Rome, which had been the mistress of the ancient world, had an Emperor in residence only when the Empire was divided. The Bishop of Rome, who had been the leading Western bishop from the start, became the chief dignitary of the city permanently in residence. The glamor and authority of Rome was transferred to its Bishop. Centuries later a legend known as the Donation of Constantine was to arise. It asserted that Constantine gave the Pope control over the Empire in the West. This legend is completely without historical foundation. Yet it does express a fundamental truth. The Roman Church was in a real sense the successor to the prestige of the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire was not the first state to become Christian. Christianity may have penetrated Armenia, a country east of the Black Sea, as early as the first century. Its real Apostle, however, was St. Gregory the Illuminator. By 305 Christianity was the official religion of Armenia.

The toleration of Christianity by the Roman Empire had an unfortunate effect on the Church in Persia. The Persian Empire was the great rival of Rome. They were repeatedly at war. As Christianity gradually became the official religion of the Roman Empire, the Christians in Persia were looked upon as a subversive group which owed allegiance to their country's enemies. The Church was subjected to a fierce and horrible persecution in the fourth century.

B. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE EARLY CHURCH

1. The Early Eucharist

The Passover was the chief Jewish feast. It commemorated the rescuing of the Jews from slavery in Egypt. Having sent other plagues on

the Egyptians to no effect, God finally sent the angel of death to kill the first-born of both man and beast. The Jews only were exempt. They were instructed to gather in their houses, sacrifice a lamb, sprinkle its blood on the doorposts and eat a hurried meal in preparation for departure. The angel of death passed over their houses, as he went on to slay the Egyptians. The commemoration of this event took the form of a solemn family meal in the course of which there was much religious ceremonial.

Was the Last Supper a Passover meal? The first three Gospels say that it was and Christian tradition has followed them. On the other hand, the fourth Gospel says definitely that the Last Supper took place on the day before the Passover and many modern scholars think this more likely. It does not make any real difference. All Jewish meals have a religious character and in our Lord's day followed much the same pattern.

At the Last Supper our Lord introduced two new elements into the pattern of the meal. After he had given the usual blessing over the bread, he broke and distributed it with the words, "Take, eat: this is my Body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me." The meal proceeded as usual till the end, when the second change took place. After blessing the cup of wine, he gave it to them with the words, "This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

These two changes were vividly impressed on the Apostles and linked to each other by two things. First they were new and startling intrusions into the usual ceremonial. Imagine being told unexpectedly and without explanation you were eating someone's body and drinking his blood. Second each included the command, "Do this in remembrance of me."

Immediately after the Holy Ghost came on Whitsunday, the Church began to obey our Lord's command. They did it just as he had done it. First the bread was taken, blessed, broken and distributed. Then came the meal. After supper the cup was taken, blessed and distributed. Notice that the Christian part of the service consists of seven steps: 1) took bread; 2) blessed it; 3) broke it; 4) gave it to them; 5) took the cup; 6) blessed it; 7) gave it to them. Between four and five came a typical Jewish meal.

The earliest name of this service seems to have been the "breaking of bread." It was the center of Church life from the beginning. Other names later came into use. The early Church called it the Eucharist, the "Thanksgiving." The form of the blessings used was a thanksgiving

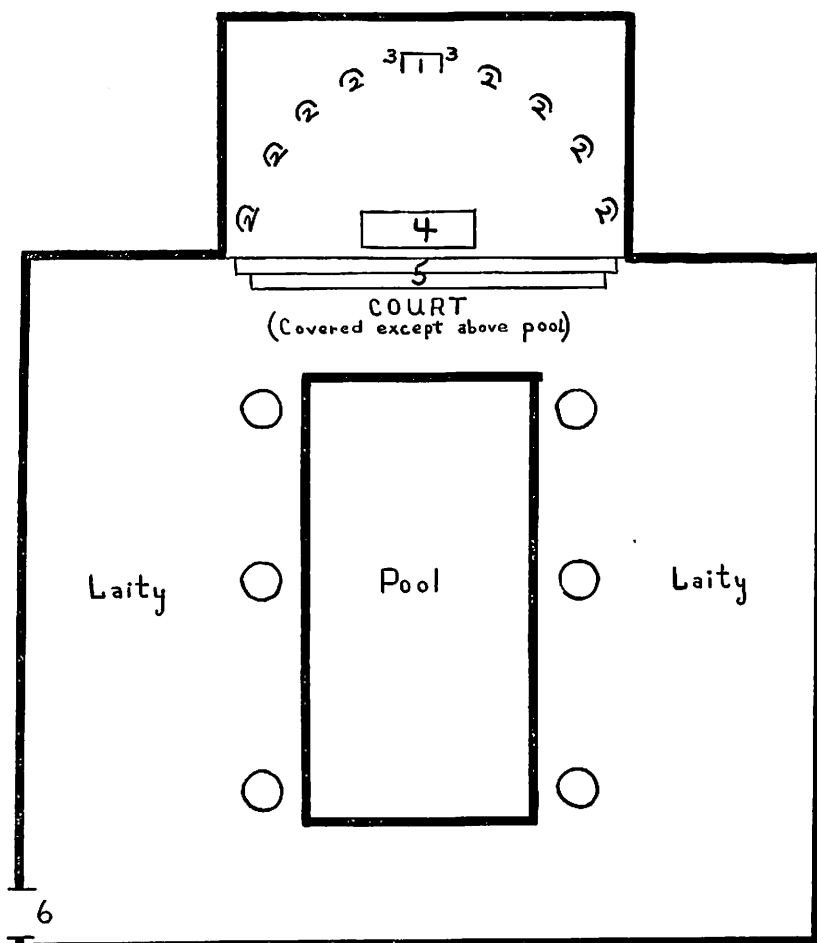
and the point of the whole service was to give thanks to God for the work of Christ. Later names emphasize other elements in the service: the Lord's Supper, the Holy Sacrifice, the Holy Communion. One short and useful name is the Mass. This has the advantage of not pointing specifically to any one element of the service. But we shall use the early Church's name for it—the Eucharist.

As long as the Church was primarily Jewish, there was no difficulty in doing just what our Lord had done. But when the Gentiles began to come into the Church a problem arose. We find St. Paul struggling with it in I Corinthians 11: 20-22. In Jewish circles all meals had a religious significance. The Jewish religion was a family affair centering in the common meal. The Gentiles had no such tradition. To them a meal was an occasion for good fellowship of a hilarious and usually boisterous sort. This had a disastrous effect on the Eucharist. The service would start all right with the blessing of the bread, but before the second half there would come a banquet in which some would eat too much and others get drunk. After that they would be in no fit condition for the concluding blessing of the cup.

To meet this situation the Church was inspired to reorganize the Eucharist. The meal was dropped out and the seven steps reduced to four: 1) took bread and wine; 2) blessed both; 3) broke the bread; 4) gave both bread and wine to the worshippers. This change must have been made very early, at some central place and on the highest authority, since there is not a trace of the seven-step Eucharist outside of the New Testament accounts of how our Lord instituted it. Even the Gospel accounts raised no question in men's minds when they appeared. The four-step Eucharist has persisted unchanged and unchallenged down the centuries. It has been suggested that the reorganization was made at Rome by the Apostles Peter and Paul.

The Eucharist in the first centuries went something as follows: On Sunday morning the Church would gather in the home of a wealthy member. It would be early in the morning for Sunday was a working day. The Christians would come secretly for fear of persecution and would be admitted only if recognized by the doorkeeper. They would gather in the enclosed courtyard of the house. This was roofed over except in the center. Beneath the opening was a pool to catch rain.

At one end of the courtyard, raised a few steps, was a room opening into it. In this room would be a semi-circle of chairs facing the courtyard. The bishop would occupy the center chair, with two deacons standing beside him. The presbyters (priests) would take the other chairs. The laymen and women would stand in the courtyard. In



ARRANGEMENT OF THE EARLY EUCCHARIST

1. Bishop 2. Priests (Presbyters) 3. Deacons 4. Altar-Table
5. Steps 6. Door Keeper

front of the bishop's chair there was a table. On this the deacons spread a linen cloth at the start of the service. The bishop would greet the Church with the words, "Peace be unto you." The congregation replied, "And with thy spirit."

The deacons then took a tray and a large cup and stood below the table in the courtyard. Each member of the congregation would come forward, place a small loaf of bread he had brought with him on the

tray and pour some wine into the cup. When all was collected, the tray and cup were taken to the table. The clergy added their offerings. Some of that bread and wine was taken for the consecration. The rest was put aside for distribution to the poor after the service.

The bishop stood facing the congregation and a dialogue took place. "The Lord be with you." "And with thy spirit." "Lift up your hearts." "We lift them up unto the Lord." "Let us give thanks unto our Lord God." "It is meet and right so to do." The bishop proceeded to give thanks over the bread and wine, consecrating them. The thanksgiving was chiefly for the redemption achieved by Christ and usually ended with the story of the Last Supper.

The bishop and deacons made their communions, followed by the presbyters. Then the bishop and deacons communicated the lay members, who came forward to receive. After this they came up again to get some of the consecrated bread which they put in a box. This they took home to use for their daily communions. The vessels were then cleansed and the Church dismissed.

Note three things: 1) The service was very short and direct. 2) It contained much action with everyone, including the congregation, taking part, and very few words. 3) There was great emphasis on the offertory (making of the offerings) and the giving of thanks to God. In other words, the early Eucharist was primarily an act of worship. In our modern service the congregation spends most of its time listening to long prayers and the emphasis has shifted to the communion. This is unfortunate, since the people have lost their part in the service and the primary note of worship is obscured.

In addition to the Eucharist, the early Church had another service consisting of the reading of the Bible and prayers. At first it was entirely separate, but in the fourth century it was prefixed to the Eucharist. This may have been the work of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386), who was Bishop of that city from about 350 till his death. He was responsible for many improvements in the service and gave clear teaching on its meaning. Pilgrims who visited the Holy Places in Jerusalem learned of his changes and teaching, and carried it back to their home churches.¹

2. The Threefold Ministry

Christ made the Apostles the first ministers of his Church. He gave them full authority to act as his agents in teaching the Faith and in

¹ The debt of this section to Dom Gregory Dix's great book, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, is obvious.

administering the Sacraments. This included the authorization to pass on to others, through the Sacrament of Holy Orders, the power and authority they had received. They could give all or only part of the power and authority. In other words, they could ordain both successors who would have full apostolic power, and assistants who would have some but not all of the Apostles' powers.

The exercise of this authorization has resulted in the threefold ministry of the Church. Bishops are in the full sense successors of the Apostles. They are the guardians of the Faith and can administer all seven Sacraments. Priests or presbyters are the second order of the ministry. They may teach the Faith, subject to review by their bishop. They may administer the Sacraments of Baptism, Holy Communion, Penance and Holy Unction,¹ and can bless a marriage.² A deacon, the lowest order of minister, may preach, if so licensed by his bishop. He may administer infant baptism if no priest is available. He may assist a priest or bishop in the distribution of Holy Communion, but he may not celebrate it. It will be noted that only a bishop can confirm, ordain or bless the oil for Holy Unction.³

The purpose of this section is to see how this threefold ministry was established by the Apostles. The first minister chosen by the Church was Matthias who was made one of the Twelve Apostles, taking the place of Judas. Barnabas, Paul and others were eventually either recognized as having been made Apostles by Christ himself or ordained by the Church to that office.

We have seen how the Apostles ordained seven to a lower order of the ministry.⁴ They have traditionally been known as the first deacons. Whether or not the Seven really held this office, deacons certainly were established early in Church History. Their function in the early Church was to handle the administrative and financial affairs of the local congregation.

We have no account of the institution of the second order of ministers—presbyters, or as they are called today, priests. They also ap-

¹ The oil used for this Sacrament, however, must be blessed by a bishop.

² The ministers of Holy Matrimony are the bride and groom. The priest or bishop simply witnesses the Sacrament in the name of the Church and gives a blessing.

³ The Eastern Church has two exceptions to this statement. Confirmation is ordinarily administered by a priest, using oil blessed by a bishop. The holy oil for Unction can, in exceptional cases, be blessed by a group of priests. The Roman Church has recently authorized certain priests in a situation of extreme necessity to administer Confirmation in the Eastern manner. But there is no exception whatever to the restriction of the Sacrament of Holy Orders to the bishops.

⁴ See p. 20.

peared early in the Church. We find St. Paul ordaining them in every Church on his First Missionary Journey. (Acts 14: 23.) Each local Church seems to have had a group of presbyters who were the supervisors of its affairs.

At first the usual situation in a local Church seems to have been that it had only the two lower orders of ministers, what we should call priests and deacons. The first or highest order was represented by the Apostles and their co-workers of equal rank in the ministry—such as St. Timothy, St. Mark, St. Luke, etc. This group traveled about from place to place supervising many local churches.

Much confusion has been caused by the fact that presbyters in the local church were sometimes called bishops. This has led some scholars to the conclusion that they originally had the powers of a bishop. They say that ordination in the local Church was originally given by the board of presbyter-“bishops.” Later, according to this theory, the right to ordain was gradually transferred from the whole board to the chairman of the board, who became the bishop in the modern sense.

This theory has been used by the Protestant Churches that dropped bishops at the time of the Reformation and placed ordinations in the hands of the presbyters. They argue that since the presbyters had the power to ordain in the first century and merely transferred that power to their chairman, they could at any time take the power back. This, however, does not follow. If in the first century the presbyters had the power to ordain, it was given to them at their ordinations. Once that power belonged solely to the bishop, presbyters were not given it. As early as the third century we find explicit statements that presbyters do not take part in ordaining. Thus the sixteenth century priests—who were the first presbyters of the Protestant Churches—were not given the power to ordain when they were ordained. They had no right to assume later that they had that power on the grounds that ministers called by the same name may have had it in the first century.

Not only is the conclusion drawn from the theory unjustified; the theory itself is very doubtful. There is not a single undisputed piece of historical evidence that the first century presbyter-“bishops” ordained. On the other hand we know that by the beginning of the second century, bishops in the modern sense were established in the local church. The letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch, which he wrote on his way to martyrdom,¹ make this clear. He insists that the bishop

¹ See p. 42.

is the head of the local church and without a bishop there is no Church.

St. Ignatius was martyred before 117 A.D. He had been bishop for some years and was probably old enough to remember when Paul was in Antioch. His life covered the period in which ordination was supposed, by the theory we are considering, to have been done by a board of presbyters. His letters give no indication that such a state of affairs ever had existed.

Furthermore, the change from ordination by a board to ordination by its chairman must have taken place in a period of about fifty years, all over the Church at the same time. This in itself is very remarkable. Even more amazing is the lack of any signs of a controversy on the point. Men do not usually give up rights and privileges without a struggle. Yet we are asked to believe that all the presbyters in the Church handed over the right to ordain to the chairman, who became the bishop, without any murmur or protest.

Another theory is much easier to believe. It accounts for the facts at least as well. It says that there was a confusion of titles in the early Church. The title presbyter, which means elder, was a title of respect which was used both for the highest order (Apostles, etc.) and for the second order of ministers. The title bishop, which means overseer, was used for the highest minister living in the local Church. Hence in a place where there were only the two lower orders, the second order would be called bishops and the third order deacons. But the second order would not have had the functions of a bishop—would not have ordained.

According to this theory, there were three orders in the Church all along and only the first order could ordain. This order consisted of the Apostles and their assistants who traveled about supervising the local Churches, and ordaining when they visited them. The local churches had usually only two orders—the second order (modern priests), who were sometimes called “bishops” because they were in fact the local “overseers,” and deacons.

During the last half of the first century the Apostles and their successors of the same rank began to settle down in local churches and take over the permanent supervision of them. Or they ordained a man of the local church to their rank of minister to act as resident supervisor. As soon as there was one resident supervisor in a local church of higher rank than the board of presbyters, the title bishop (overseer) was no longer fitting for the members of the board. The title was transferred to the man of apostolic rank. He became the

CHART IV. THE THREEFOLD MINISTRY

<i>Rank and Modern Name</i>	<i>In the First Century</i>		<i>In the Second Century</i>	
	<i>Traveling</i>	<i>Local</i>	<i>Traveling</i>	<i>Local</i>
1. Bishop	Apostles and their assistants of the same rank. They were sometimes called Presbyters.	In the second half of the century the traveling ministers began to settle down as heads of a local church, or they ordained a local man to their rank of minister to act as local head.	Some "apostles" and prophets were still traveling around but they were undisciplined and undependable. They were viewed with suspicion and finally either settled down or died and left no successors.	One Bishop. It was appropriate that this title be transferred to the local head of the church when there was one.
2. Priest		Bishops or Presbyters. A board which supervised the local Church under the oversight of a traveling Apostle.		Presbyters. The members of the board kept the title presbyter as a specific name when it was no longer fitting that they be called bishops.
3. Deacon		Deacons.		Deacons.

bishop. The general title of presbyter was then given to the members of the board as the specific title of the second order of ministers.

The change could have been effected without anyone losing any rights and privileges. It would have happened so naturally that it is not surprising there is no record of it. The situation at the end of the first century is just what we know it to be—each church has a bishop, a board of presbyters and some deacons. All the facts are accounted for. Ordination was administered only by the first order of ministers—at first by the traveling Apostles, their assistants and successors—and then by one of their number who had settled into a local church or by a man of the same rank ordained by them to be a local bishop.¹

3. The New Testament

Both the Eucharist and the threefold ministry had reached their modern form before the New Testament was completed. This emphasizes an important truth about Christianity. Our Lord did not found his religion on the Bible. He did not give us the New Testament and tell us to find Christianity in it. The first book of the New Testament was not written until years after his death. All the books of the New Testament were originally written in Greek; whereas our Lord taught in Aramaic, the language of Palestine. Hence his sayings are not even recorded in the words he spoke.

Christ committed his teaching not to the Bible but to the Church. The Church worshipped God in the Eucharist, taught the Gospel, converted thousands and organized its ministry without the help of the New Testament. The Church was a going concern, carrying on the work of Christ, for over a hundred years before the New Testament reached its present form.

The Church wrote the New Testament. We have seen how St. Paul wrote some of the Epistles attributed to him. They were letters to the Churches he had founded, dealing with local problems and disputes. The Epistles of St. John were also letters to the Churches he supervised. The *Book of Revelation* was written to encourage Christians in persecution. The *Book of Acts* was written by St. Luke, possibly to head off the Domitian persecution. The other so-called epistles were written by early leaders of the Church to instruct their fellow Christians.

The Gospels, the four lives of our Lord, were also written by the Church. As long as most of the Apostles were alive and preaching, the

¹ This section is indebted to the researches of Felix Cirlot, Th.D.

Church did not feel the need for a written record of our Lord's life. But when the Apostles began to die, the Church decided their teaching should be written down while it was fresh in men's minds. Probably the first Gospel to reach its modern form was that of St. Mark. He recorded the Gospel as it had been preached by St. Peter, after the latter's death in 64 A.D.

The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke quote long passages from the Gospel of St. Mark. They also contain other passages which are clearly quoted from some other document. The phrasing and thought of these passages are too much alike to have been composed by two different people writing independently; yet there are just enough differences between them to rule out the possibility of one copying from the other. Scholars therefore assume there must have been a document which has since been lost. This document is referred to as "Q," and consisted chiefly of our Lord's teaching and parables.

The Gospel of St. Matthew, then, is a combination of Mark and Q with some additional material. The latter includes the stories of our Lord's birth and a group of Old Testament quotations applied to Christ. It is not likely that St. Matthew was the author of it in its present form. An Apostle would hardly have quoted from St. Mark, a second generation Christian. Probably St. Matthew was the author of Q and his name was transferred from that document to the first Gospel when it was compiled. The compiler was probably a Jewish Christian.

The third Gospel was probably compiled by St. Luke. It consists of Mark, Q, some birth stories, and a large quantity of other material which scholars think comes from a third document, known only to St. Luke. It has been suggested that this document was written by St. Philip the Deacon, with whom St. Luke came in contact after the Third Missionary Journey. (Acts 21: 8-10.) St. Luke says in so many words that he is compiling his Gospel from other documents. See Luke 1: 1-4.

The fourth Gospel is the latest to have been written—c. 95 A.D. It is quite different from the other three. It was probably written by the Apostle John to supplement them, to correct their mistakes in some instances and to emphasize the most important truth that our Lord is God.

Not only did the Church write the New Testament. It decided what books were to be included in it. There were many other Gospels, Epistles, Acts and Books of Revelation which claimed to have been written by Apostles. The Church examined them all and rejected

CHART V. THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE AGE OF PERSECUTION

<i>Book</i>	<i>Probable Date</i>	<i>Probable Author</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Matthew	80-90	A Jewish Christian	A combination of Mark, "Q" (possibly written by Matthew), Birth Stories and Old Testament prophecies.
Mark	65-70	Mark	The Gospel as preached by Peter.
Luke	80-90	Luke	A combination of Mark, "Q," another document possibly by Philip the Deacon, and Birth Stories.
John	95-100	John	Written at Ephesus. Supplements and corrects the first three Gospels.
Acts	90-93	Luke	Probably written to head off the Domitian persecution.
Romans	55-56	Paul	Written during second visit to Corinth.
Corinthians I and II	53-55	Paul	Written during stay at Ephesus.
Galatians	49-50	Paul	Probably written at Antioch before the Apostolic Council.
Ephesians	53-64	Paul	Written either at Ephesus or at Rome. Not to the Ephesians.
Philippians	56-64	Paul	Written either at Caesarea or at Rome.
Colossians	53-64	Paul	Written either at Ephesus or at Rome.
Thessalonians I and II	50-51	Paul	Written during first visit to Corinth.
Timothy I and II and Titus	59-64 or 90-120	Paul? or unknown	Unlikely that Paul is the author.
Philemon	53-64	Paul	Written either at Ephesus or at Rome.
Hebrews	75-90	Disciple of Paul	Written probably for Roman Church, not to the Jews.
James	?	James?	Doubtful if by the Bishop of Jerusalem.
I Peter	60-64? or c. 93	Peter? or Silvanus	See I Peter 5:12.
II Peter	Second Century	Unknown	
John I, II and III	95-100	John	Written at Ephesus.
Jude	90-100	Unknown	
Revelation	85-95	John?	Written at Patmos.

those not included in the New Testament on the grounds that they did not agree with the Apostles' teaching which the Church had received.

The books that are included in the New Testament were put there because they taught what the Church knew the Apostles had taught. It was in this sense and in this sense only that the Church endorsed them. It follows that the Church alone has the right to interpret the New Testament. The Church does not get its teaching from the Bible. The Church produced the Bible in order to write down the teaching it had already received from the Apostles. The New Testament is to be understood in the sense that the Church meant when it produced it. The Bible is to be interpreted by the Mind of the Church—what the Church has taught at all times, in all places by all accredited teachers.

One book which has survived but which is not included in the New Testament is *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. This was lost for centuries and only rediscovered in modern times. Scholars differ widely as to when it was written and as to how important it is. All agree, however, that the Apostles had nothing to do with it. It probably was written late in the first or early in the second century, possibly in Jewish Christian circles or in some other Church cut off from the main stream of development. One interesting point is the distrust it reflects of the wandering ministers at the time it was written. These wandering ministers are called Apostles and prophets and are described as "your chief priests." They are to be entertained for two nights only and then sent on their way, unless they are willing to settle down permanently in the local church. This fits in with the theory that at the end of the first century the wandering Apostolic ministry was being replaced by resident local bishops.

4. Discipline

The early Church had high standards of morality and discipline. The enthusiasm and devotion of Apostolic times was kept alive during the persecutions. There was no reason for becoming a Christian except so strong a desire to live the Christian life that one was willing to risk torture and a horrible death. Under the circumstances none but sincere Christians entered the Church.

They were carefully prepared before being admitted. When a person expressed a desire to become a Christian he was made a catechumen. As such he was given a long course of instruction, lasting at

least a year, during which he had also to live the Christian moral life and attend those services at which his presence was permitted.

In the second century it was the custom to administer Baptism only on Easter Eve. Later it was administered on Whitsun Eve also. The catechumens were baptized and confirmed at the same service and then proceeded to attend and receive Holy Communion for the first time. The long and careful preparation was necessary for two reasons. First, the Church had to make sure that it was not admitting spies who would betray it to its persecutors. Second, the Christian moral standards were so much higher than those of the pagans that a prospective convert had to be thoroughly tested to make sure that he was willing and able to live up to them.

At first the Church seemed to assume that no Christian would commit a serious sin after Baptism, unless he intended to give up his religion forever. As the Church grew in numbers, however, it found that some of the weaker brethren did sin and subsequently repent. When they asked to be reinstated, the question arose, could they be? Christianity is the way of salvation. The early Christians felt strongly that they had been saved by their union with Christ. If anyone, having received that gift, threw it away again, could he have a second chance?

One party in the Church said no. Others believed that our Lord's love and mercy for sinners was sufficient to forgive even serious sins of baptized Christians. Gradually this latter party prevailed. In the *Shepherd* of Hermas, a second century Christian romance, we find a Christian given one more chance if he sinned seriously after Baptism.

The means by which the Church gives forgiveness to sinners after Baptism is the Sacrament of Penance. In the early Church this Sacrament was used only for sins grave enough to have caused the sinner to be expelled from the Church. It was a hard Sacrament. The sinner had to confess his sin publicly in the presence of the bishop and the whole congregation. He was given a penance, which involved months, sometimes years, of fasting and humiliation. Only after this was performed faithfully did the bishop give him absolution and readmit him to the Church.

The frequent use of the Sacrament of Penance for minor as well as major sins was to be a later development. But note that there never was any question of readmitting a grave sinner merely on the basis of his having confessed his sin directly to God. He had to confess to the Church, do penance and be absolved by the bishop. The only

question in the early Church was whether, having done all that, he could be given a second chance.

One of the persons chiefly responsible for establishing the policy of mercy toward sinners was St. Callistus (?-223). Since all we know of him comes from the writings of his bitter enemies, it is difficult to reconstruct his life. He was born a slave in Rome. He seems to have been entrusted with large sums of money by his master and by the Church. He lost them. His master had him condemned to the hand-mill by the state. This automatically freed him from slavery. The Christians got him released in the hope that he would recover their funds. He was later arrested and condemned as a Christian to the mines of Sardinia. The Emperor Commodus released him along with the other Christians imprisoned there. He was put in charge of a Christian cemetery by Pope Zephyrinus and succeeded him as Bishop of Rome in 218. Callistus was martyred in 223.

Callistus was probably not much of a theologian. His enemies accuse him of being a heretic on the doctrine of the Trinity and he may have been at least confused about it. His sufferings, however, and perhaps his faults, made him tender toward the sins of others. He permitted grave sinners to be absolved after due confession and penance. He was gentle in dealing with heretics who accepted the Faith. He emphasized the important truth that the official acts of a priest or bishop do not depend on his moral character but on the fact that he has been ordained. This does not mean that it is all right for a bishop or priest to sin. But it does mean that if a bishop or priest who has sinned celebrates Holy Communion, our Lord becomes present in the bread and wine. If this were not true we could never be sure he is present, since we cannot know what the moral condition of the celebrant is.

Another bishop who helped establish the Church's policy of mercy toward sinners was St. Cyprian (200?-258). We know little of his early life except that he was a well-educated and prominent citizen of Carthage, probably a wealthy lawyer, when he was converted to Christianity in middle life. He was baptized about 246. He was made Bishop of Carthage two years later. He is not particularly noted as a theologian, although his teaching is sound. His fame is as an able administrator. He was one of the first of the great prince bishops who managed his diocese wisely and brought honor and respect to the Church.

When the Decian persecution started in 250, Cyprian went into hiding, not from personal fear of martyrdom but because he felt it

his duty to guide the Church through the storm. The attack was so sudden and vigorous after the Church had enjoyed a long period of peace that many Christians were unprepared. In the first panic of fear they either sacrificed to the pagan gods or brought certificates saying they had done so. Many afterwards repented. Cyprian handled the situation with great firmness and skill. He insisted that they submit to the discipline of the bishop and do adequate penance, but he made it possible for them to be restored to the Church.

On one point Cyprian differed from the final decision of the Church. He said that persons baptized by heretics had to be rebaptized. The Church said that heretical Baptism is valid if it is administered by water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The grace of Baptism does not become fully operative until the person accepts the true Faith, but when he does, the ceremony should not be repeated.

When the persecution broke out again under Valerian in 257, Cyprian was exiled. A year later he was brought back to Carthage, condemned and beheaded. He met death with great dignity.

5. The Beginnings of Monasticism

Except for the Decian-Valerian and the Diocletian persecutions, which were separated by nearly fifty years, the Church was unmolested in the third century. It became popular. Many who entered the Church were willing to try to live an ordinary Christian life, but they were unprepared to attain to heroic virtue. Gradually the standards of Church life declined, and the policy of mercy toward sinners gave those who lapsed another chance.

Up to a point this was unquestionably God's will. Christ died to redeem the world. He came "not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." But the process once started was hard to stop. When the world made peace with the Church after the Diocletian persecution, the Church was tempted to make peace with the world, by giving its sanction to customs which it had hitherto called sinful. As the Church became the official religion of the Empire, more and more people entered for unworthy motives. It was a means of being fashionable, of winning public office or the Emperor's favor. On the other hand, the Church sometimes hesitated to rebuke notorious sinners in important state positions lest it lose their goodwill.

This led to a disastrous lowering of standards. Devout souls needed some means by which they could witness against this state of affairs. They also wanted an opportunity to give their lives for Christ now

that martyrdom was no longer possible. To meet their needs and to put a brake on the decline of Church life, God established monasticism.

The first monk seems to have been St. Anthony (250-356). He was born in Egypt of well-to-do parents. When he was about twenty he inherited their property. He believed that our Lord's words, "Go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor," applied to him. He sold his possessions. There had for some time been Christians who had done that and remained unmarried, but they either dwelt with their families or lived in huts outside their native town. For fifteen years Anthony lived this kind of life in a nearby tomb, where he was subjected to violent temptations.

At the age of 35 he retired into the desert, where he shut himself up in an abandoned fort. Food was thrown to him over the wall. For twenty years he did not see a human face. By that time a colony of monks had followed him into the desert and lived around his fort. In 305 they induced him to come out and instruct them. He spent five or six years at this task and in 311 paid a visit to Alexandria to encourage the Church in persecution. He then retired deeper into the desert, where he lived alone for the rest of his life. He did not, however, refuse to see visitors who penetrated to his retreat and he made another visit to Alexandria to strengthen the Church against the Arians. He died in 356.

Most of the early monks were, like St. Anthony, hermits. They lived alone and had no possessions. It is true that they tended to settle in colonies, but each lived by himself and regulated his own life. They spent much time in meditation and the reciting of the Psalms. They engaged in extreme ascetic practices—eating only a few figs or dates each day, going without sleep and so forth. All this seems strange and grotesque to us today. The purpose of Christian asceticism, however, was not to kill the body, but to bring it into subjection to God. It was a needed witness against the luxuriousness that was creeping into the Church, which pampered the body and indulged its selfish whims.

The hermits knew the necessity of work as a balance to prayer. The raising of the few figs and dates on which they lived did not give sufficient opportunity for manual labor. Those who lived near civilization made baskets and other articles to be sold and gave the proceeds to the poor. Those farther away found other means to keep them occupied. One hermit industriously gathered dead palm leaves and laid them in neat piles. Once a year he burned them and started all over again.

This was the beginning of monasticism, or as it is often called the Religious Life. It drew thousands into the deserts of Egypt. It spread over into Palestine and Syria. Those who entered it usually attached themselves to an older hermit to learn the principles of the spiritual life. When they became proficient, they went off on their own.

But the first form of Religious Life had its dangers. It took a strong man well fortified by the grace of God to remain faithful to the Christian life in solitude. Many fell into spiritual pride or spiritual sloth. Others became eccentric. Some went mad. Some after the first enthusiasm died out returned to the world. There was a need for discipline and the support of society.

St. Pachomius (292?-346) was the first to recognize and meet this need. He was a pagan soldier who was converted about 313 by the kindness shown him by Christians. He carried the idea of army discipline with him into the Religious Life. As he began to attract disciples, he organized them into a monastery. Later he founded seven or eight others. Each monastery had 30 or 40 houses within it, each with a prior and 40 monks. The prior managed the house. An abbot ruled the whole monastery. It was a self-sufficient industrial community with all sorts of trades being carried on within it. The monks gathered for meals and certain prayers. Much individual liberty for extra devotions was granted, however, and the monks lived much to themselves. But the priors and abbot were in a position to check eccentricities and to administer advice and discipline to those who needed it.

This type of monasticism was the one which was destined to prevail. For the first time it gave the opportunity to exercise the three fundamentals of the Religious Life. In its more developed state these take the form of the vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. Poverty means owning no personal possessions. Chastity means purity in the unmarried state and is usually safeguarded by ascetic practices. Obedience means surrender of one's own will to a Rule and to the commands of one's superior. Hermits like St. Anthony could practise the first two. They could not practise the third, since, living alone, they had no one to obey. St. Pachomius' monasteries with their abbots and priors gave the monks the opportunity to exercise Obedience.

C. THE BEGINNINGS OF THEOLOGY

1. Gnosticism

The Gentiles who were converted to Christianity inevitably brought some of their pagan ideas with them. These were gradually eliminated

from the minds of those Christians who were willing to learn. But some of the intellectuals were too proud to be taught. They thought the Christian Gospel was too simple. It was all right for ignorant people, but they wanted something more complicated and subtle.

They therefore combined with Christianity an elaborate form of pagan philosophy and mythology, producing the first major heresy. It is called Gnosticism, the name being derived from the Greek word meaning "knowledge." Ordinary Christians might be satisfied with the Faith as the Church taught it. The advanced intellectuals developed a secret tradition which was more elaborate. They were "in the know."

The fundamental error of Gnosticism was an idea which has always haunted Eastern thought: that matter is essentially evil. The material world, including the human body, is believed to be in direct opposition to the spirit. The two can never be reconciled. In the end either matter must destroy spirit or spirit destroy matter.

Christianity, on the other hand, believes that matter is essentially good. God looked at the material world after he created it "and, behold, it was very good." God took a material human body through which to reveal himself when he became man. He continues his work on earth through the Sacraments, which use material things as the channel of spiritual power.

Evil for the Christian does not spring from matter but from human sin. Sin is the deliberate misuse of God's gifts, including the body and the material world, for the individual's selfish pleasure, instead of using them as the means of serving and glorifying God. The Gnostic teaching that matter is the source of evil is more comfortable, of course. It puts the blame not on us but on forces outside us which we cannot control. This idea dies hard. It is represented in modern thought by putting the blame for human sin on environment and heredity. Unfortunately the idea in all its forms is untrue. Sin is our fault. It is our deliberate rejection of God's will in order to pursue our own selfish purposes.

The idea that matter is evil led the Gnostics into three other errors:

1. A good God could not create evil matter. Christianity believes there is only one God and he is good. The Gnostic could not admit he had created matter. Therefore they revived the pagan idea that there is more than one god. Some of them taught that there are two gods, an evil god who created matter and a good god who created the things of the spirit. The latter is the Christian God, who rescues his followers from the evil god of matter. Others taught that there is a series of minor deities between God and the world, the lower gods

being the creators of matter. The Supreme God is the Christian God and again he rescues those who know him from enslavement to the lesser deities.

2. God cannot come into contact with matter. Therefore Christ did not really have a human body. He did not really suffer. He only appeared to do so. This aspect of Gnosticism is called Docetism. It denies the central Christian truth that God became man, thereby uniting man to himself. According to the Gnostics, God did not do anything for man. He did not share our life. He did not redeem us. He just put on a show in order to give us knowledge.

3. The spiritual soul is entirely separate from matter. It is imprisoned in the body but it is not affected by the body. Body and soul do not mingle or influence each other in any way. From this the Gnostics drew one of two conclusions:

a) The body should be killed by ascetic exercises. The motivation of these exercises was that the body is essentially evil, the prison-house of the soul. Christian asceticism, as we have seen, recognizes that the sin-corrupted body is out of order and therefore natural impulses must be firmly controlled, but it never seeks to destroy these natural impulses altogether as the Gnostics did.

b) Other Gnostics took a different line. Since the soul is entirely separate from the body and is not affected by it, whatever one does with the body makes no difference to the soul. Therefore one can sin as much as one pleases in the body. Naturally this doctrine was more popular than its ascetic alternative. It led to a complete loss of all moral standards.

There were many different Gnostic teachers. Their systems were very elaborate and since they were the product of the author's imagination, no two of them agreed. Marcion was the most famous and most successful Gnostic. He was probably the son of a bishop in Asia Minor, born early in the second century. He went to Rome where he founded his church. He taught that the God of the Old Testament was different from and inferior to the God of the New Testament. Accordingly he rejected the Old Testament and most of the New which did not agree with his position. He developed a strong following. Since he and his disciples, unlike other Gnostics, were willing to suffer persecution for their faith, the heresy lasted for some time.

As early as the Epistles of St. Paul, we find the Church struggling with the Gnostic heresy. It was defeated by the solid agreement of Catholics contrasted with the divisions among Gnostics, and by the writings of the early Fathers whom we shall consider in the next

sections. The Church's rejection of Gnosticism was expressed through the Creeds. Thus the doctrine of intermediate creators is rejected in the assertion that God and God alone is the "Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible." Docetism is denied by the second paragraph of the Creeds with its insistence that Christ was born, really "suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried." The separation of soul and body is rejected by the belief in the resurrection of the body, which asserts not only that the body and soul affect each other in this life, but also that the body shares eternal life with the soul. The determination of which books were to be included in the New Testament was another result of the controversy with Gnosticism.

The pagan counterparts of Gnosticism were the mystery cults. These religions worshipped one or more of the pagan gods. Unlike other forms of paganism, however, they offered their adherents personal union with the god, through secret knowledge and the performance of certain ceremonies. As these ceremonies had points of similarity with Christian Sacraments, some scholars have suggested that the Christian Sacraments were derived from the mystery cults. This has been proven untrue. The Christian Sacraments have their roots in the Jewish religion, not in paganism. They were fully developed in the Jewish Christian Church. The significance of the mystery cults is that they show how deeply men felt the need for that personal union with God which God himself provided in Christ and the Sacraments. In pagan circles men invented ceremonies which they hoped would meet the need.

2. The Western Fathers

St. Clement of Rome (fl. 95) is the first Bishop of that city, whose writings have been preserved. Clement is usually listed as the fourth Bishop of Rome—Peter, Linus, Cletus, Clement. Another tradition says he was consecrated by St. Peter. It may be that he was first a traveling bishop, who, after his predecessors had died, became the resident Bishop of Rome.

Shortly before his death he wrote a letter to the Church at Corinth which has been preserved. It is somewhat obscure and has been variously interpreted. Apparently there was some sort of quarrel going on at Corinth, possibly because they did not yet have a resident bishop. The letter is interesting on two counts. It gives early insight into the organization of the Church. It also shows the Bishop of Rome, the first time we glimpse him, taking an interest in the affairs of other

Churches. It should be noted, however, that the tone of the letter is one of fatherly advice and that his advice had been requested by the Corinthian Church.

St. Irenaeus (133?-200?) is a most important figure. He was brought up in the East and was a disciple of St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. Polycarp was a pupil of St. John. Hence the tradition which Irenaeus received reached right back to an Apostle. Furthermore he moved to Gaul and became a priest at Lyons. Thus he linked the Eastern tradition to the West. At the time of the great persecution there, he was sent on a mission to Rome. On his return he was made Bishop of Lyons, succeeding St. Pothinus, who was martyred in 177.

Between 182 and 188, Irenaeus published his great work, *Against Heresies*. It is a defense of the Church against the Gnostics. Irenaeus put much emphasis on the Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments. He was able to refute the Gnostic claim to a secret tradition from the Apostles by showing how he received his from a pupil of St. John. He also traced the succession of bishops in the major cities, giving us much of what we know of the early Church. He pointed to the unity of Catholic Faith throughout the world contrasted with the disagreements among the Gnostics. His doctrine is sound on all points and he laid the foundations of theology in the West.

His work was carried on by two brilliant theologians in Rome, St. Hippolytus (?-236) and Tertullian (155?-225?). We know nothing of the early life of Hippolytus. He was a priest of the Church at Rome at the beginning of the third century. His *Refutation of All Heresies* is an attack on Gnosticism based on Irenaeus, whose disciple he may have been. Perhaps Hippolytus was somewhat confused on the doctrine of the Trinity. Of more importance is a treatise he wrote on the ministry, called the *Apostolic Tradition*, which is a mine of information about the organization of the Church in the third century.

Tertullian was born in Carthage about 155. He was well educated and became a lawyer. He went to Rome, where he was converted to Christianity in 197. Later he became a priest of the Church. He was the first important theologian to write in Latin, all his predecessors having used Greek. His writings are very numerous. He was a master of satire and invective and used them in the defense of the Church. He approached theology more as a lawyer than as a philosopher. The result was a clear-cut though superficial definition of terms. But he gave Western theology the words in which to express itself simply and directly. This saved it from the speculative confusion that sometimes characterized theology in the East.

Both Hippolytus and Tertullian were rigorists, opposed to any mercy toward sinners and to any relaxation of Christian standards. This brought them into conflict with St. Callistus. Hippolytus may have been the first anti-pope, that is, rival claimant to the Bishopric of Rome. He remained in opposition to the Church until his banishment to Sardinia in 235. Pontianus, who was then Pope, was banished with him and apparently the two became reconciled in exile. Hippolytus has been counted among the Church's saints.

Not so Tertullian, who became a follower of the Montanist heresy between 202 and 207, by which time he was back in Carthage. Montanism was one of those many attempts down through the centuries to revive the extraordinary manifestations of the Spirit. It was founded about 157 by Montanus, who claimed to be a prophet. He and his followers rejected bishops and all ordained ministers. They also, as is frequently true of the Pentecostal sects, went in heavily for Puritan morals. They condemned all pleasures and amusements, even regarding marriage with suspicion. (The Church, although it has always encouraged the Religious Life for those who are called to it, considers marriage an holy state and provides the Sacrament of Holy Matrimony.) The Montanists allowed no mercy to sinners.

As Tertullian was a rigorist and as he had quarreled with his bishop, it was the Montanist Puritanism and its rejection of authority that chiefly attracted him. He proceeded to turn his brilliant wit and invective against the Church. Later it is thought that he broke with the Montanists and founded an even "purer" Church of his own. But in spite of all this, Tertullian made a great contribution to the Western Church in providing a clear concise terminology in which it could express its Faith.

Western theology has always been more practical and less speculative than that of the East. The East is primarily interested in the nature of God. The West has been concerned more about the method of salvation, the proper organization of the Church and the way the Sacraments operate. This difference is due fundamentally to the two cultures which were taken into Christianity. Greece, which dominated the East, was the home of philosophy. Rome, which dominated the West, was the center of a world-wide organization, the Roman Empire.

3. The Eastern Fathers

The earliest of the important Eastern Theologians is St. Justin Martyr (100-165). He was born in Flavia Neapolis, a city founded by Vespasian on the site of Sychem in Palestine. He was of Greek descent

and was brought up a pagan. His search for truth led him to study the various schools of philosophy. Finally a man explained Christianity to him. He had already admired the faithfulness of Christians in the face of persecution. When he was convinced that they also were in possession of the deepest truth about God and man, he was converted in 130. He continued to consider himself a philosopher and expounded Christianity as the true philosophy at Ephesus and Rome.

His writings were many but only three have survived. Two are *Apologies*, defenses of Christianity against the charges which formed the basis of the Empire's condemnation of it. In order to prove that Christians are not cannibals, Justin gives us the earliest account of what happened at the Eucharist. The third of his surviving works is the *Dialogue with Trypho*, a report of an argument he had with a Jew, in which he answers the Jewish case against Christianity. Justin's other works, which included a *Treatise against Heresy*, have been lost.

Justin was conducting a school in Rome when he was arrested with six others on the charge of Christianity. They were tried before the prefect and refused to sacrifice to the pagan gods when threatened with torture. Accordingly they were scourged and beheaded in 165.

Justin put great emphasis on the doctrine of the Logos, derived from the opening chapter of St. John's Gospel. The Greek word "logos" means word or reason. The Word of God is the manifestation of God. The Word of God spoke through the Jewish prophets; it also spoke through the reason of the philosophers. Finally the "Word was made flesh and dwelt among us" in Jesus Christ.

This insistence that Christ gives us the true knowledge (gnosis) is the way by which the Eastern theologians refuted Gnosticism, with its claim to a higher secret knowledge. This line of thought was most fully developed at Alexandria in Egypt. An early leader of the great theological school there was St. Clement of Alexandria (c. 155-215), not to be confused with St. Clement of Rome. Clement of Alexandria was probably born in Athens of pagan parents. He was converted to Christianity, but continued to study philosophy. He finally settled in Alexandria and taught in the school of theology, becoming its second head. He left Alexandria in 202 because of a persecution there, and seems to have died in Asia Minor about 215.

Clement was an extremely learned and well-read man. His many writings are of interest to classical scholars because of the quotations they contain from books no longer extant. He was fundamentally a philosopher. His theological doctrines were sound, but he was inclined to use the Faith as the starting point of the search for further truth.

This speculative aspect of his thought has seemed dangerous to modern Roman Catholics who dropped him from their calendar of saints in the sixteenth century. His courage in theological pioneering, however, has made him a favorite with modern theologians.

Even more speculative and more brilliant was Clement's famous pupil, Origen (c.185-254). Origen was born in Alexandria. His father was martyred in 202 and his property confiscated. Origen himself would have sought martyrdom had his mother not hidden his clothes to prevent him. After his father's death he had to support his mother and brothers. He became head of the theological school at the age of 17, when Clement left. He continued his own studies in the philosophical schools.

On a visit to Caesarea in Palestine in 231 he was ordained to the priesthood. His own bishop in Alexandria felt this was an intrusion on his jurisdiction, and being already jealous of Origen's popularity as a teacher, had him banished from Alexandria in 232. He settled in Caesarea, where he founded another theological school. In the Decian persecution he was imprisoned and horribly tortured. He survived the persecution but died as a result of his injuries in 254.

Origen was a bold theological pioneer. His many writings helped the Church penetrate deeper into the meaning of the Faith. For almost 300 years he was considered a great theologian and his works were quoted as authoritative. But it must be admitted that his speculations carried him at times beyond the confines of the Faith. Particularly dangerous was his tendency to subordinate God the Son to God the Father, making the former a lesser deity. In the end, certain of his writings were condemned as heretical by the General Council of Constantinople II, 553.

The dangerous aspects of Origen's thought were taken up by the school of theology at Antioch, which had been founded by Theophilus, who was Bishop of that city, 171-183. The Antiochene school put its emphasis on the humanity of Christ and tended to interpret the Scriptures literally and historically. This tendency first expressed itself heretically in the teaching of Paul of Samosata who was Bishop of Antioch and was condemned at three councils 264-269. He denied the divinity of Christ. One of the words which he used to express his doctrine was "homoousion." The fact that this word was condemned was to play a part in the Arian controversy.

The Alexandrine school continued under the leadership of St. Dionysius of Alexandria (190?-265), who was a pupil of Origen. He became head of the school about 234 and was Bishop of Alexandria

247-265. He was both a fine theologian and an able administrator. In Alexandria the theological emphasis was on the divinity of Christ and the Scriptures were interpreted allegorically.

The bitter rivalry between the two schools of Antioch and Alexandria kept the Church in a state of theological conflict until both were engulfed by the Mohammedans in the seventh century.

4. The Doctrine of the Trinity

The doctrine of the Trinity, that there are three Persons in the one God, was revealed to the Apostles by their experience of Christ. For example, he said, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth." Here is a clear distinction between three Persons. Christ, the Son, prays to the Father; he is not talking to himself. The Father will give *another* Comforter, the Holy Spirit. We have here three distinct Persons. All three are God.

Yet there are not three Gods. The Apostles were Jews. The first truth that God had taught the Jews in preparation for his coming in Christ is that there is only one God. It never occurred to the Apostles to question that truth. When they came to know three distinct Persons all of whom are God, they could only conclude that there are three Persons in the one God. This is the doctrine of the Trinity.

It took the Church a long time to express this truth in theological terms. The first difficulty was that the Gentile converts did not share the Jewish belief in one God. They were accustomed to many gods. Hence for them the simplest way to state the truth of the Trinity was to say there were three Gods.

This tendency expressed itself in Gnosticism. That heresy asserted that there are many gods, or at least two, thereby accounting for the creation of the material world without attributing it to the supreme God. The Church battled against this heresy and finally overcame it. This established, in Gentile circles as well as Jewish, that there is only one God.

Then the pendulum swung to the other extreme. The belief in one God led to the denial of the reality of the three Persons. The chief exponent of this heresy was Sabellius, a priest of the Church in Libya, who taught at Rome 198-217. He said that God is essentially and eternally one. For purposes of revelation he played three different parts—Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but they are really all the same Person. This reduction of the Christian revelation to mere play-

acting was fatal. As Tertullian aptly says, the doctrine put the Holy Ghost to flight and crucified the Father.

Sabellius was defeated by the combined efforts of the theologians we have studied in the two previous sections. But it was very difficult to state the doctrine of the Trinity without asserting either that there are three Gods on the one hand, or that there is only one Person on the other. Most of the early theologians inclined dangerously toward one or the other of the false positions. When the Church emerged from the persecutions, the spadework had been done for laying the foundations of the doctrine of the Trinity. The so-called Apostles' Creed was formulated by this time. Yet there was still enough uncertainty over the terms to be used in defining the Trinity to plunge the Church into a series of controversies.

Before we consider these, it would be well to have the final formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity clearly in mind. The Church's statement of the doctrine rests on two technical theological terms. The first is *nature*. In theology this means any aspect of a being that can be described. A man's nature includes his body, his mind, his will, his characteristics, his personality. The divine nature means the divine Mind, the divine Will, and all the divine attributes—God's power, goodness, justice, mercy, holiness, etc.

The other technical term is *person*. This word has an entirely different meaning in theology from what it has in ordinary speech. In ordinary speech, we use the word person to refer to the whole of a being, including his nature. We say, for instance, "He is a handsome person," meaning that his physical features are attractive. Physical features are part of what theology would call his nature.

Theology uses the word person to mean the self, the ego, the one who acts through his nature. Person and nature are mutually exclusive terms. A person uses his nature, but his nature is not part of his person. One can say nothing *about* a person, in the theological sense, except that he exists, he acts, he experiences. Anything about a being that can be described is part of his nature, not his person. Person is simply the one who uses the nature.

In a human being we have one human person using one human nature. A human person cannot be separated from his human nature. A person must have a nature through which to act. A nature must be acted through by a person or it is dead. But although we cannot separate our persons from our natures, we do distinguish between them all the time in ordinary speech. We say, for instance, "On a certain occasion, I used my head." I (person) used my head (my mind, part

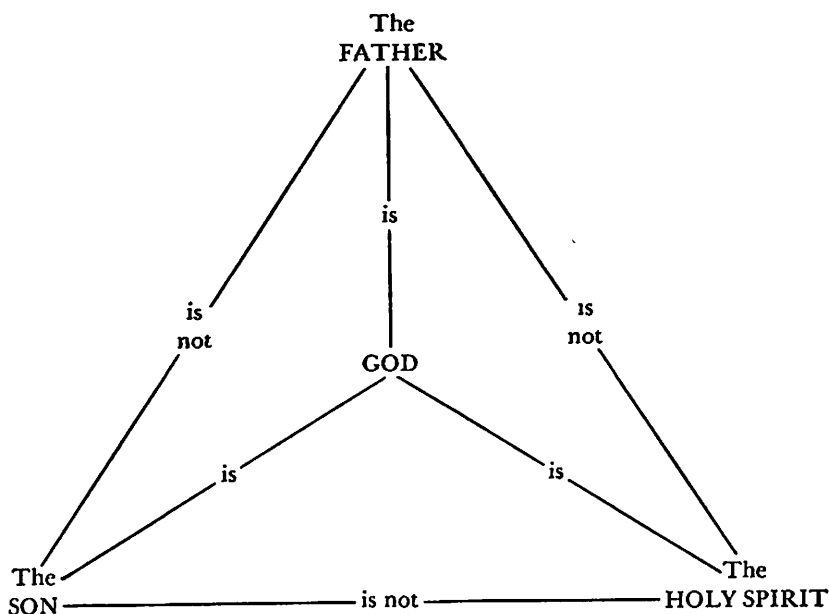
of my nature). Or again, we say, "I know myself too well to think I could do that." I (person) know myself (my nature, my characteristics).

In man there is one human person using one human nature. In God there are three divine Persons using the one divine nature. There is only one divine Mind, one divine Will, one set of divine attributes. They are used by three divine Persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

A difficulty immediately suggests itself. Suppose the Father wanted to use the divine Mind for one purpose and the Son for another. But that is just the point of the Trinity. The three Persons are perfectly united in love. We know from human experience that when two persons grow in love, they grow closer together. They learn to share more and more of each others' natures. Perfect love would be perfect sharing. This is what we find in God. The Father gives the full divine nature to the Son and the Spirit. The Son gives it fully to the Father and the Spirit. The Spirit returns it fully to the Father and the Son. They are perfectly united in Love. Hence they can share the one divine nature.

Here is the chief practical result of the doctrine of the Trinity. God

CHART VI. THE TRINITY



is love. In God himself there is the personal relationship of love. This could not be so if God were only one Person. In that case, there would be no one in God for God to love. He could love only persons other than himself. No one other than God is eternal. Love would not be eternal if God could love only persons who were other than God. The truth is that in God there are, and always have been, three Persons, and they love each other eternally. God in himself and by himself is a love relationship between the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

See Review Outline II. The Early Church.

V. The Major Heresies.

See also Chart X. The Pendulum of Heresy, p. 111.

CHAPTER IV

The Age of the Councils

A. ARIANISM

1. Arius and His Teaching

ARIUS (?-336) was educated in the theological school of Antioch and became a priest. The emphasis of Antiochene theology, it will be remembered, was on the humanity of Christ, and there was a tendency to consider God the Son inferior to God the Father. Later Arius moved to Alexandria, where the theological emphasis was on the divinity of Christ. Arius was in conflict with Alexandrine theology from the start and was excommunicated by the Patriarch¹ Peter in 300. Peter's successor reinstated Arius, however, who became rector of a big parish in Alexandria. He was a man of good moral character and winning personality. He was an eloquent preacher and had a reputation for learning and piety. He attracted a large following both among the workers of Alexandria and among the devout ladies.

Arius' success turned his head. Like many another popular preacher he tried to find an easy solution to the doctrine of the Trinity. He sought it along the lines he had learned in Antioch. God the Son was inferior to God the Father. Sons are always younger than their fathers. Therefore God the Father existed before God the Son. This would

¹ We use the title Patriarch from now on for the Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople and Jerusalem. The wide jurisdiction of the first two was recognized in the fourth century; the other two received the title and jurisdiction at Chalcedon, 451. Only the Bishop of Rome has like importance in the West. He is usually given the title Pope.

mean, of course, that God the Son is not really God. He would be a creature of God the Father. Although Arius was willing to call Christ God, he considered him to be a lesser deity and really denied his divinity, since Christ did not partake of the same divine nature as the Father.

The Church's answer to Arius' argument is that the terms Father and Son are the best words human language supplies to describe the eternal relationship between the first two Persons of the Trinity. They describe only the relationship, and both Persons must always have existed if the relationship has always existed. A father does not exist as a father until he has a son. God the Son is eternal, just as God the Father is eternal, and they both have the one divine nature.

Arius began to teach his theory about 318. At that time St. Alexander (?-328) was Patriarch of Alexandria. Arius was the defeated candidate when Alexander was elected. Alexander recognized Arius' teaching as false, and finally after long forbearance, had Arius condemned as a heretic at a local council in Alexandria about 320. Arius went to Caesarea in Palestine, where Origen had gone under somewhat similar circumstances about a hundred years earlier.

Eusebius of Caesarea (?-340?) had been Bishop of that city since at least 315. He was a learned man and apparently of a prominent family. He was the first major Church historian. His writings in this field are unequaled in importance. Eusebius was brought up in the theological school Origen had founded in Caesarea. His admiration for Origen was so great that he devoted one whole book of his *Ecclesiastical History* to his life.

Since Arius had derived his theory from certain aspects of Origen's thought, Eusebius of Caesarea was sympathetic to Arius' teaching. Eusebius had local councils in Palestine reverse the decision of the Alexandrine Council and declare Arius' doctrine to be sound.

Arius went next to join his old friend and school-fellow, Eusebius of Nicomedia (?-341). This Eusebius was at this time Bishop of Nicomedia, a city in northern Asia Minor near Constantinople. Eusebius of Nicomedia was a very ambitious man and a skilful politician. He whole-heartedly endorsed Arius' teaching and became the leader of the Arian party, which was strong in Asia Minor. Arius published his opinions in verse which appealed to the common people. With all this support behind him he returned to Alexandria.

When Constantine became sole Emperor in 323 and moved his capital to Constantinople, he determined to end this conflict which divided the Church in the East. Eusebius of Nicomedia first caught



**THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE 4TH.
CENTURY**

Constantine's ear and persuaded him that the controversy was a mere matter of words and was due chiefly to Alexander's stubbornness and his jealousy of Arius. But Constantine had first accepted Christianity in the West and his most trusted adviser on Church affairs was Hosius, Bishop of Cordova in Spain (256-358). He was sent to Alexandria to reconcile Alexander and Arius. Hosius, with his Western training, recognized the seriousness of the dispute. He sided with Alexander and, when both sides refused to yield, advised Constantine to call a council to settle the issue.

The Council Constantine called turned out to be the first of the General Councils. A General Council is a council at which the Mind of the Church is expressed. It has, therefore, to fulfil certain requirements: 1) Since the Mind of the Church is what is taught in all places, a General Council must be open to representatives from the whole Church. It is true that all the General Councils were held in the East, chiefly to deal with Eastern disputes. There were few western bishops in attendance. But this was because the western bishops did not choose to come, not because they were excluded. 2) The Mind of the Church is what is taught by all accredited teachers. A General Council is a council of bishops, the official guardians of the Faith, and its decisions must be practically unanimous—except, of course, for the heretics who are on trial. 3) The Mind of the Church is what has been taught at all times. For this reason no council can be sure it is a General Council while it is still sitting. Its acts must subsequently be accepted by the whole Church for generation after generation before it can confidently be affirmed to have been a General Council. Only seven Councils have been universally accepted as General Councils.¹

2. The Council of Nicaea I, 325 A.D.

The First General Council met at Nicaea, a city of Northern Asia Minor in 325. It was a glorious occasion for the Church. About 318 bishops attended. They came mostly from the East. The Pope was represented by two priests whom he sent as legates. Bishop Hosius presided. The Emperor opened the Council in person. Hitherto the Church had never been able to gather for a large scale meeting because of the persecutions. Many of the bishops and others who flocked to Nicaea bore on their bodies the marks of tortures they had endured

¹ The Apostolic Council in Jerusalem was really a General Council. But as this was in a class by itself it is not usually listed as one of them. For a list of the General Councils see Review Outline IV.

CHART VII. THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY

A. Parties at the Council of Nicaea, 325

<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Middle Group</i>	<i>Compromise</i>	<i>Pro-Arian</i>
Alexander Hosius Marcellus Athanasius They were determined to condemn Arianism and inserted the test-word <i>homoousion</i> into the Nicene Creed.	The majority of the bishops, good earnest pastors who did not understand the dispute clearly. When they found that Arius denied that Christ is God, they condemned him and adopted the Nicene Creed.	Eusebius of Caesarea He introduced a creed which side-stepped the issue. When the word <i>homoousion</i> was inserted, he signed the Creed reluctantly.	Arius Eusebius of Nicomedia They tried to get Arianism at least tolerated. Arius was condemned and banished. Eusebius of Nicomedia signed the Creed, but not the condemnation of Arius. He was banished later.

B. Parties 326-360

<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Liberal</i>	<i>Arian</i>
Athanasius Julius of Rome Hilary of Poitiers They remained staunch supporters of the Nicene Creed and suffered for it.	Their sympathies were fundamentally with the Catholics, but they wanted to avoid the definiteness of the Nicene Creed, and to go back to the situation before Arianism arose.	Eusebius of Caesarea Eusebius of Nicomedia They wanted to keep everybody in the Church, including the Arians with whom they strongly sympathized. They wanted a vague formula. They argued that <i>homoousion</i> is unscriptural.	Through the conservatives and liberals, they regained the confidence of Constantine. Only death prevented Arius' restoration to the Church. They got increasing influence over Constantius and by 360 had the Church under their control.

C. Parties 361-381

<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Liberal</i>	<i>Arian</i>
A new group of theologians: Basil the Great Gregory of Nyssa Gregory of Nazianzus took the torch from Athanasius. The West reverted to the Nicene Faith after the death of Constantius, 361. This party finally triumphed in the East at Constantinople I, 381.	They were finally convinced by the action of the Arians that there is no alternative between the Nicene Creed and Arianism. They accepted the former.	They either died or were absorbed by the Arians.	After the death of Constantius, 361, their power rapidly declined. They were finally defeated at Constantinople I, 381.

for the Faith. The Church for the first time stood before the world in all its splendor and strength.

The bishops who assembled at Nicaea can be divided into four groups. First there were the two parties to the dispute. The Arians were represented by Arius himself and Eusebius of Nicomedia. The Catholic party was headed by Alexander of Alexandria and had the support of Hosius. Another member of this group was Marcellus (?-374), Bishop of Ancyra. He was somewhat embarrassing to the Catholic Party, since he tended toward Sabellianism.

The third group comprised most of the bishops in attendance. They were not theologians and had little idea what the dispute was all about. They were humble pastors of their flocks and devout followers of Christ. A typical member of this group may have been St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, who is the original of the legendary Santa Claus. They knew that Christ is God because they had been praying to him for years and living in his strength. When Arius presented his creed to the Council and they were convinced that he denied the divinity of Christ, they indignantly rejected Arianism.

This was the crisis of the Council. The danger was that the middle group, having shouted down Arianism, would go home without really having condemned it. This is precisely what was desired by Eusebius of Caesarea, who represents the fourth point of view in the Council. As we have seen, Eusebius of Caesarea was primarily a historian. He approached theology with the knowledge of the great variety of theories which had been held in the past. He was also an ardent follower of Origen, from whose comprehensive speculations both the Arians and the Alexandrines had derived their positions. Therefore he was reluctant to see either side ruled out by a clear-cut theological definition.

Furthermore Eusebius of Caesarea was chiefly concerned with the prestige of the Church. He wanted its internal quarrels settled as quickly as possible, without any loss of members or hard feelings. He was quite willing to sacrifice truth for peace. It was absolutely necessary that Arianism be declared false. Otherwise the divinity of Christ would be open to question and the foundation of Christianity destroyed. Eusebius could not or would not see this. He sought a compromise that would placate both sides.

He was almost in a position to effect one. He was the leading scholar at the Council and had given the opening address. When Arius' creed was rejected, Eusebius of Caesarea introduced one of his own. It was almost the same as the first two paragraphs of what we know as the

Nicene Creed. (The third paragraph was simply, "We believe in the Holy Ghost.") The references to Christ in the second paragraph were very important. He was called "the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, only begotten Son, the First-born of all creation, begotten of God the Father before all the ages."¹ The trouble with this passage was that the Arians were just as willing to accept it as the Alexandrines. It did not condemn Arianism at all. It merely sidestepped the whole issue.

Eusebius of Nicomedia,² the leader of the Arian party, stated in a letter that he could accept the above creed but that he would never admit that Christ was "*homoousion*"—"of the same substance"—with the Father. This convinced Hosius and the Alexandrines that the word *homoousion* had to go into the Creed. It was a difficult word to use, since it had been condemned as heretical when Paul of Samosata had used it. But it was the only word that definitely ruled out Arianism. The Alexandrines fought for it and finally convinced all but a few bishops.

The crucial passage was changed as follows. Christ was called "the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, *Very God of Very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance (homoousion) with the Father.*" The italicized words ruled out Arianism, and it was specifically rejected in a concluding paragraph.

Eventually all but two bishops signed the Creed. Eusebius of Caesarea was very hesitant. He sought out the Emperor and asked his opinion. The Emperor assured him it was all right and Eusebius of Caesarea signed. That the leading theologian should act on the basis of advice from an Emperor who was not even baptized shows how subservient to the Emperor Eusebius of Caesarea was.

Even Eusebius of Nicomedia signed the Creed, except for the specific condemnation of Arius. This did not do him much good at the time. Arius and the two bishops who refused to sign were banished by the Emperor. Eusebius of Nicomedia was also banished a little after the Council ended.

Nicaea was a complete victory on paper for the Catholics. Its Creed definitely condemned Arianism. But the battle was far from won.

¹Quoted from Foakes-Jackson, *History of the Christian Church to A.D. 461*, p. 311.

²It is unfortunate that two of the leaders at Nicaea, both in varying degrees supporters of Arius, were both named Eusebius. It helps to distinguish between them to note that Eusebius of Caesarea was the compromiser.

The real hero of Nicaea was St. Athanasius (296-373). He had been brought up in the theological school of Alexandria. St. Alexander took him into his household as his secretary and later made him a deacon. While still a young man, Athanasius had shown great skill in theology and had already written two treatises against Arianism before 325. He accompanied Alexander to Nicaea and acted as his theological adviser. It was Athanasius who convinced the middle group of bishops that Arius denied the divinity of Christ. It was Athanasius who won the victory of inserting the word *homoousion* into the Creed. Apparently Athanasius did not like the word very much. He used it sparingly in the subsequent controversy. But he was convinced, and he convinced the others, that it was necessary for the condemnation of Arianism.

When Alexander died in 328, Athanasius was deliberately absent from his death-bed in order to forestall any move toward electing him as Alexander's successor. The ruse did not succeed, however. Athanasius was elected Patriarch of Alexandria. The champion of the Nicene Faith was put in the position where he could successfully fight for it.

One of Athanasius' interests should be mentioned here. He was an ardent admirer of the desert monks. We shall see how he later took refuge among them. But even before then his interest in them was keen. Wherever he went he spread information about them. He may have written the *Life of St. Anthony* which has survived.

3. The Revival of Arianism

Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was a master of court intrigue, did not remain long in exile. In two years he was back in Constantinople and by 329 he had regained Constantine's favor. Eusebius set to work to accomplish two objectives. First, he wanted to restore Arius to the Church. Second, he determined to undermine the Nicene Creed.

Eusebius may not actually have been an Arian. He never repudiated his signature to the Nicene Creed. He did, however, sympathize with Arius, and he felt the Nicene Creed tended dangerously toward Sabellianism, because of its test-word, *homoousion*. He took the line that the Creed was ambiguous and that Arius had been misunderstood at Nicaea. Eusebius' real motive in his attack on the decisions of Nicaea was that he wanted to avenge his own personal humiliation at that Council and his subsequent exile.

In attacking Nicaea, Eusebius had the support of two other groups besides the Arians. The first group was the liberals, like Eusebius of Caesarea. Their chief ambition for the Church was its worldly glory.

They wanted the Church to present a united front and an appearance of peace to the world. Fine distinctions in theology they thought should not be allowed to drive people from the Church. Its formularies should be so vague that they would be capable of even contradictory interpretations. Thus everybody could be included in the Church. The result of this policy, however, would have been to destroy the Faith. It is the familiar position that it does not matter what a Christian believes. The sympathies of the group were really with the Arians.

The second group was the Conservatives. They were the middle group at Nicaea which had endorsed the Creed. But they had never understood the dispute nor realized the danger of Arianism. After the Council they began to question whether it had gone too far in defining the Faith. Their sympathies were really with the Catholics, but they wanted to go back to the more general position the Church had taken before the question of Arianism had been raised. Actually this was impossible. Once Arius had denied the divinity of Christ, either he had to be condemned or the Church had to abandon the doctrine. The conservatives refused to believe this issue had to be faced squarely. Therefore, they joined with Eusebius of Nicomedia and the liberals in trying to find a more generalized formula to substitute for the Nicene Creed.

Eusebius was able to win the support of Constantine, partly by court intrigue, but partly because their positions were fundamentally the same. Constantine sincerely wanted to promote the best interests of the Church. He also wanted the Church to help him unite the Empire. Therefore the peace and unity of the Church was more important to him than theology. When the Arian dispute reached serious proportions, he called a Council to end it. He was enthusiastic over the unanimous decision of Nicaea because he believed it had settled the issue forever. When he found later that a large group questioned its decision and the dispute was being reopened, he began to look for a compromise that would satisfy all parties.

Eusebius had Arius write a statement of his position which apparently reconciled it with the decisions of Nicaea. To Constantine, who was no theologian, it seemed satisfactory. He therefore decided that the best way to end the dispute was for Arius to be restored to the Church. When the Emperor tried to effect this restoration, however, he found himself opposed by Athanasius.

Athanasius saw the issue clearly. Christianity rests on truth which has been revealed to men by God. That truth, the Christian Faith, must be defended at all costs. No expedient of policy can be allowed

to undermine the Faith without destroying the foundations of Christianity. What seemed to Constantine like stubbornness on Athanasius' part was actually a determined and necessary defense of Christianity. Arius had denied the divinity of Christ. His teaching had to be rejected by the Church. No compromise was possible. Either Christ is God or he is not. There is no middle ground.

Athanasius could count on the support of two groups. The first group was the desert monks. They were invaluable allies. The people had unbounded admiration for them. The monks in their desert retreat were out of the Emperor's reach. They could and did stand by Athanasius all through the struggle.

Athanasius' second ally was the Western Church. The Church there had no sympathy with Arianism. The Doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation had been settled in the West in the third century. The Western solution to the problems involved did not take into account the subtleties of Eastern thought, but it was thoroughly practical and sound. The Nicene Creed expressed it satisfactorily and the West accepted it as final from the start.

Eusebius of Nicomedia recognized that Athanasius was his real opponent. He set right to work to destroy him. First Eusebius had the bishops who supported Athanasius removed from their dioceses. Then he attacked Athanasius himself. Various false charges of misappropriation of funds, of injustice and even of murder were brought against the Patriarch of Alexandria. Athanasius refuted them easily, but it did no good. He was summoned to the Council of Tyre in 335. The council was so obviously hostile that Athanasius withdrew and appealed to the Emperor. The council proceeded to condemn and depose Athanasius. Eusebius was able to prejudice Constantine against the Patriarch by falsely charging that he planned to hold up the ships that carried food from Egypt to Constantinople. Constantine banished Athanasius to Treves in Gaul in 336.

This first visit to the West gave Athanasius the chance to enlist the support of the Church there. It also brought him into contact with two of Constantine's sons, Constantine II and Constans, whom he convinced that the Nicene Creed is a true and necessary statement of the Faith.

Once Athanasius was eliminated, Eusebius and Constantine could carry out their purpose of restoring Arius to the Church. In 336 a day was set for his readmission to communion. On the night before, however, Arius dropped dead.

In 337 Constantine himself died. He was baptized on his deathbed

by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who by that time had become Patriarch of Constantinople. But Constantine's conscience seems to have bothered him over his treatment of Athanasius. The Emperor is said to have recalled the Patriarch as one of his final acts.

One event of significance for Christian devotion should be mentioned. Constantine's pious mother, St. Helena, made a pilgrimage to Palestine in 327. She located the holy places—Bethlehem, Nazareth, Calvary, the Upper Room, etc.—and had churches built at them. She also believed she found the cross on which Christ had died. Jerusalem and the Holy Land became a center of pilgrimage for the Christians all over the world.

4. St. Athanasius Against the World

When Constantine died, the Empire was divided between his three sons. Constantine II and Constans were made Emperors in the West, and Constantius in the East.

Constantius' attitude toward the Church was the same as his father's. He was chiefly interested in establishing peace in the Church in order that the Church might unify the Empire. He probably was not much interested in Arianism as such. But he favored it more than his father had, because he had never come under the influence of Athanasius, and because the Arians had a stronger position in his court than they had had in Constantine's.

His brothers, the Emperors in the West, persuaded Constantius to allow Athanasius to return to Alexandria in 337. Eusebius of Nicomedia and his supporters continued to take the position that Athanasius had been deposed by the Council of Tyre. They tried to set up a rival Patriarch at Alexandria. To this end they sought the support of the Pope, St. Julius (?-352). Julius, who was a wise and just administrator, refused to be stampeded into condemning Athanasius. He demanded that the evidence against the Patriarch be presented. As the Eusebians had no real evidence, they could only evade the Pope's demand. They went ahead with their schemes, however, and finally in 340, with the help of Constantius, succeeded in establishing Gregory of Cappadocia (?-345) as a rival Patriarch of Alexandria.

Athanasius fled to Rome where Pope Julius received him and called a council to review his case. The verdict was completely in favor of Athanasius and of the other bishops who had been driven from their dioceses by the Eusebians.

In the same year, 340, Constantine II quarreled with his brother

Constans over the division of the Western Empire. Constantine II was ambushed and killed. Constans became sole ruler in the West. As he was a supporter of Athanasius, he began to put pressure on Constantius to treat the Patriarch justly.

CHART VIII. ST. ATHANASIUS' EXILES

No.	Dates	Place	Exiled by	Recalled by	Remarks
I.	336-337	Treves	Constantine	Constantine Constantius	Athanasius won Constantine II and Constans to the Nicene Faith.
II.	340-346	Rome and the West	Constantius	Constantius at demand of Constans	Gregory of Cappadocia (died 345) made Patriarch of Alexandria. Athanasius upheld by Pope Julius, and by councils in Rome (340) and in Sardica (343).
III.	356-362	Egyptian desert	Constantius	Julian	George of Cappadocia (died 361) made Patriarch of Alexandria. Athanasius lived among the monks.
IV.	362-363	Egyptian desert	Julian	Jovian	
V.	365-366	Just outside Alexandria	Valens	Valens	The people demanded his return.

In 341 the Eusebians held a council at Antioch. At first the conservatives were in control. The council drew up four creeds. The first three all specifically rejected Arianism but tried to avoid the unscriptural test-word of the Nicene Creed—*homoousion*. Because of this, and because the council was more afraid of Sabellianism than of Arianism, the creeds did not really close the door against the latter heresy. The fourth creed was drawn up by the Arian minority after the conservatives had left. It claimed to be the work of the council and was, of course, definitely Arian. Shortly after this council Eusebius of Nicomedia died.

Under pressure from Constans, Constantius called a council of Eastern and Western bishops, which met at Sardica in 343. Athanasius accompanied the Western bishops. The Eastern bishops objected to his being seated. They withdrew, held their own council at Philipopolis and condemned both Athanasius and the Council of Sardica.

The latter, however, continued its work, and upheld Athanasius. It also passed an important canon which gave deposed bishops the right of appealing their case to the Pope. Note that this canon was passed by a council of Western bishops, and that the council *granted* the right of appeal. It did not treat the right of appeal as having previously been part of papal jurisdiction.

The Eusebians overstepped themselves in their intrigues against the envoys from the Council of Sardica and turned Constantius against themselves. As the intruding Patriarch Gregory was dead, Constantius allowed Athanasius to return to Alexandria in 346. The people of the city received him with unrestrained joy. For ten years he was allowed to rule his diocese in peace.

During this period, however, Athanasius lost his two most influential supporters. Constans died in 350. After a war with an usurper who tried to seize the West, Constantius established himself as sole Emperor in 351. In 352 Pope Julius died and was succeeded by Liberius (?-366), who, though he held the Catholic Faith, was a much weaker man. Constantius held a council at Arles in 353 where the representatives of Pope Liberius were induced to sign a condemnation of Athanasius. The Pope repudiated their signatures and asked Constantius to call another council.

This council met at Milan in 355. Constantius himself appeared as the accuser of Athanasius. The council was so overawed that only three bishops dared to resist the Emperor. They were exiled and the council condemned Athanasius. Hosius, now an old man, and Pope Liberius were not at the council. But they were banished later because they would not accept its decisions.

In 356 soldiers attempted to arrest Athanasius. He escaped and for six years lived among the desert monks. Now that the West had succumbed to Constantius, the monks were Athanasius' only remaining friends who were in a position to help him. They hid him from the imperial police. Athanasius spent his time writing important treatises and managing his diocese from a distance. His people remained loyal to him, in spite of the fact that a rival Patriarch, George of Cappadocia, had been intruded.

Meanwhile the Eusebians, who were now almost completely dominated by the Arians, put out a new series of creeds at Sirmium, 357-359. The aged Hosius was compelled to sign the second of these creeds, which was definitely Arian. Pope Liberius was also forced to sign a creed which unquestionably rejected the Nicene Creed, but just how far it went in the direction of Arianism we do not know. The fourth

and last Sirmium creed was the work of the liberals and opened the door wide to Arianism. At this point the conservatives finally concluded that no compromise was possible between Arianism and the Nicene Faith, and they began to move toward the latter. But the Arians were now in control and with the help of Constantius in 359 forced two councils, one in the West at Ariminum and one in the East at Seleucia, to sign a definitely Arian Creed, or one open to Arian interpretation. By 360 every bishop who was still in his diocese had signed one of these creeds. Arianism was completely triumphant. The following year Constantius died.

5. The Triumph of the Nicene Faith

The death of Constantius turned the tide against the Arians, since they lost the support of the Emperor. Julian, who succeeded Constantius, abandoned Christianity and tried to revive paganism. In order to weaken the Church, Julian allowed all exiled bishops to return to their dioceses in the hope that violent quarrels would result between the Catholics and the Arians. In general, this did not happen. The West quietly and unanimously reverted to the Nicene Creed. Athanasius returned to Alexandria in 362. The rival Patriarch George had been murdered by the pagans in 361. Athanasius established himself so quickly and so firmly that Julian decided to exile him again a few months after his return.

While in Alexandria, however, Athanasius held an important council at which a confusion of terms between the East and the West was cleared up. The Greeks had been translating the Latin formula in a way that sounded Sabellian. Athanasius was able to demonstrate the real meaning of the Western terminology and thus prepare the way for the conservatives to join with the West in the defense of the Nicene Creed.

Another bishop who contributed to the understanding between the Eastern conservatives and the West was St. Hilary of Poitiers (300-368). He was the son of a noble pagan family, who was converted to Christianity, became Bishop of Poitiers about 350 and was the outstanding Western theologian of his day. He staunchly defended the Nicene Faith and was exiled to the East in 356. He attended the Eastern Council of Seleucia, 359, at which he convinced the conservatives that they must break with the Eusebians and return to the Nicene Creed. But for the moment, the Arians were powerful enough to force the conservatives to sign the Arian Creed, as we have seen. The Arians also persuaded Constantius to send Hilary back home in

361. He had, however, laid the foundations for a return of the conservatives to the Catholic Faith as soon as the pressure of Constantius was removed.

Athanasius' fourth exile, which was spent among the monks, ended with Julian's death in 363, when Jovian, the next Emperor of the East, allowed him to return to Alexandria. Jovian himself died in 364 and his successor, Valens, favored the Arians. Athanasius was exiled for the fifth time in 365. He retired to just outside Alexandria. The people so clamored for his return that the Emperor had to consent in 366. From then till his death in 373, Athanasius was allowed to govern his diocese in peace.

Athanasius did not live to see the actual triumph of the Faith for which he had fought so valiantly. His unwavering defense and his voluminous writings, however, had won the day. The torch he had carried so long single-handed was passed on to three younger theologians. They were descendants of the conservatives, who were by then convinced that nothing short of the Nicene Creed would protect the Church from Arianism. They were:

1. St. Basil the Great (c.329-379). He was the son of an outstanding Christian family of Caesarea in Asia Minor. He was trained in piety and learning, studying in Constantinople and Athens. He became interested in the Religious Life and visited the monasteries in Egypt and Syria. On his return he founded a monastery in Asia Minor. The Rule he drew up for it, which followed the community type established by St. Pachomius, has become the standard Rule for the Religious Life in the East.

Basil was ordained a priest in Caesarea probably in 363 and became Bishop of Caesarea and Metropolitan¹ of Cappadocia in 370. He was by then a convinced adherent to the Nicene Creed. His able administration turned his archdiocese into a stronghold of the Catholic Faith. His many writings carried his influence to other parts of the East. Like Athanasius, Basil died before the battle with Arianism had finally been won, but he made a major contribution to the ultimate triumph of the Faith.

2. St. Gregory of Nyssa (?—c.396). He was a brother of Basil the Great. He first pursued a secular career as a teacher of rhetoric, but in 371 he was persuaded to become Bishop of Nyssa and was consecrated by his brother. He turned out to be a poor administrator. He was

¹ A Metropolitan is a bishop who has supervision over all the other bishops in a province.

subjected to persecution by the Arians and deposed in 376. He attended the Council of Constantinople in 381, where Arianism was finally defeated. Gregory's chief contributions were his writings in theology and his commentaries on the Bible.

3. St. Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 325-389). He was the son of Bishop Gregory of Nazianzus. He was sent to school at Caesarea where he met St. Basil the Great and they became close friends. They studied together at Athens. In 356 he joined Basil in the Religious Life, but after two or three years he returned to Nazianzus to help his father, and was ordained priest in 361. After Basil became Bishop of Caesarea, he decided he needed Gregory's help and insisted on consecrating him Bishop of Sasima, a diocese under Basil's jurisdiction. Gregory realized this was a mistake and soon returned from Sasima to Nazianzus, where he helped his father until the latter's death in 374. Gregory withdrew to a monastery a year later.

In 379 Theodosius I, a staunch Catholic, became Emperor in the East. That year Gregory was sent to Constantinople to convert the city from Arianism to the Nicene Faith. Gregory's learning and oratory won the majority of the city. Theodosius insisted that Gregory become its Patriarch after the Arian Patriarch had been deposed, and Gregory was enthroned in 380.

In 381 the Second General Council, Constantinople I, was summoned by Theodosius. One hundred and fifty bishops attended. The Nicene Creed was reaffirmed. Thus the Arian controversy was ended.

The Council of Constantinople I also condemned two other heresies.

1. Macedonianism. This heresy was like Arianism, except that instead of denying the divinity of Christ, it denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost. It is named after its founder Macedonius (?-364) who from 342-360 was Arian Patriarch of Constantinople. After he had been deposed, he dropped his Arianism and began to teach that the Holy Ghost is a creature, not God. The heresy was first condemned at Athanasius' council in 362. The Council of Constantinople I condemned it in 381 and wrote the third paragraph of the Nicene Creed to refute it.¹

2. Apollinarianism. This heresy was the opening gun of the next dispute which was to disturb the Eastern Church. That dispute concerned the relationship of the divine and human natures in Christ.

¹The third of the Church's Creeds, the so-called Athanasian Creed, was not written by Athanasius. It was probably composed in the fifth or sixth century.

Apollinaris (?-392) taught that Christ had no human spirit. It is very interesting that the Council of Constantinople I should have condemned this heresy. That Council was chiefly concerned in establishing the divinity of Christ. But it refused to go to the other extreme and permit the denial of his full human nature.

Although the Council of Constantinople I was sound theologically, it was a rowdy affair. It raised all kinds of objections to St. Gregory of Nazianzus being Patriarch of Constantinople. After it had accepted him and elected him its president, the Council still howled down his advice about the election of a Patriarch of Antioch. This convinced Gregory that the factions which were determined to oppose him at every step were too strong for him to overcome. He therefore resigned as Patriarch of Constantinople and retired first to Nazianzus and then to a monastery. He spent his time in prayer and writing until his death about 389.

The resignation of Gregory was a tragedy for the Church. Constantinople had had many heretical Patriarchs; it had never been ruled by a strong Catholic. Gregory with his learning and skill as an orator might have laid the foundations of a sound Catholic tradition. This was not to be. Constantinople, the capital of the Empire, was destined to be the leading diocese in the East. It was unfortunate that it was so often the stronghold of heresy.

B. THE CHURCH IN THE WEST

I. St. Martin of Tours (316-397)

St. Martin was born in Pannonia, the western part of Hungary. His parents were pagans, his father being a cavalry officer. In 324, when Martin was eight years old, his father was allowed to retire from the army and was given a grant of land in Pavia, a city of north Italy. Here Martin came into contact with the Church and became a catechumen. He also learned about the Religious Life and began to consider it. The sons of soldiers, however, were expected to enter the army. If they did not, the grants to their parents were taken away. In 332 the draft age was lowered to 16, just in time to catch Martin. He tried to resist, but his father reported him and he was carried off to the army in chains. He had not yet been baptized. He apparently became reconciled to army life, for at the end of his training he enlisted in the regular army.

He still held to his ideals of the Religious Life, however. He not only avoided the usual vices of camp life; he also sought occasions for acts of humility and charity. In private he treated his body servant

as a brother rather than as a slave. His most famous act of charity was performed one winter day at Amiens. A beggar in tattered rags stood shivering at the gate of the city. Martin had already given all his money and undergarments to the poor that day. He had on only his uniform and his heavy cloak. Without hesitation he took his sword and cut his cloak in two. Half he gave to the beggar and half he draped as best he could around his naked arms and legs.

That night Christ appeared to him dressed in the half cloak and said, "Martin, who is still only a catechumen, has covered me with this garment." Far from being unduly elated by the vision, Martin considered the words "who is only a catechumen" an implied rebuke. He immediately completed his preparation and was baptized at Easter, 339.

Martin's determination to become a monk was strengthened, but for two years more he continued in the army. In 341 the army was preparing for a battle with a Germanic tribe which was trying to break into the Empire. The Emperor Constans gave each soldier a present to encourage him to fight. When it came Martin's turn, he refused his gift with the words, "I am a soldier of Christ." This was a technical phrase which meant that Martin was a monk. As such he would withdraw from the army. The Emperor naturally thought that Martin was trying to escape from the battle. Martin, however, assured the Emperor that, although he would not fight, he would gladly walk unarmed ahead of the army when the battle was joined. He was arrested and kept in chains in order to force him to fulfil that promise. But the next morning to everyone's surprise the enemy sent an envoy to the Romans, asking for peace and offering to surrender to them.

Martin went to Treves to learn the Religious Life. Here he met St. Athanasius, who was there on his second exile. From him Martin learned the principles of monasticism as lived in Egypt. Martin next went to Poitiers, where he became a disciple of St. Hilary. The latter wanted to make Martin a priest, but he refused. Hilary then made him an exorcist, one of the minor orders of ministers whose duties were to cast out devils. Martin performed this office with great success.

One night Martin dreamed that his mother was looking for him. He set out for Pannonia, where his father was again on active duty, having lost his grant because Martin had left the army. Martin converted his mother and many neighbors to Christianity. He did not convert his father, but they were completely reconciled. On his return through Italy, Martin insisted on preaching the Catholic Faith. As this was after 356, the country was in the hands of Arians. On one

occasion Martin was beaten and driven from a town. He learned that Hilary had been banished. Martin therefore retired to an island and began to live the Religious Life.

When Hilary returned to Poitiers in 361, Martin rejoined him. He established a monastery near the city at Ligugé. His form of the Religious Life differed from that of the Egyptian monks in that he did not remain in retirement. He used his monastery as a training place for missionaries and as a base of operations for his own labors to convert pagans to Christianity. At this time the Church was strong in the cities but the countryside still worshipped the old gods.

Martin was ordained a priest and carried the Gospel to the surrounding districts with great success. He had the power of performing miracles and on three occasions raised someone from the dead. It was not strange that his reputation spread far and wide.

When the Bishop of Tours died in 371, the people of the city determined that Martin should succeed him. They knew, however, that they could never induce Martin to come to the city for that purpose. Therefore one of the citizens asked Martin to come to heal his wife. As soon as he arrived the people began clamoring that he be made bishop. Some of the bishops who were conducting the election objected. The leader of the opposition was named Defensor. The proceedings were interrupted for a service and the reader read from Psalm 8. The second verse in the Old Latin version ended with the words "that thou mightest still the enemy and his 'defensor.'" This was taken as a sign that the Defensor's opposition was wrong and Martin was made Bishop of Tours.

There he established another monastery, Marmoutier, where he lived as much as possible. He set out to convert the country districts to Christianity. His technique was to destroy pagan shrines and build churches in their places. Once an angry mob tried to stop him from chopping down a sacred tree. As he plead with them to destroy it, a local wit cried, "We will cut it down if you will lie under it when it falls." Martin at once accepted the challenge and was tied to the spot where it seemed the trunk must land. But a small tree nearby deflected it slightly as it fell and Martin's life was spared. Such fearless evangelism convinced the people of the powerlessness of the old gods and won the countryside to Christ.

Martin's charity was unfailing. He gave generously to all in need. He never hesitated to demand mercy for prisoners from governors, even from the Emperor himself. He did not know how to resent an injury. Once when he was riding along on his donkey some legionaries

raced toward him in a chariot. Their horses apparently took fright as they came upon Martin suddenly, plunged off the road and became hopelessly entangled in the woods. The legionaries were furious and beat Martin insensible. The monks who were with him rescued him as soon as they could, set him on his donkey and hurried off. But some local people told the legionaries that they had beaten the Bishop of Tours. This frightened them, for they knew a bishop was an important person who could get them into serious trouble. They hastened after Martin, who by then had regained consciousness. He not only forgave them. He returned, quieted their horses and led them back to the road.

Such was Martin, an outstanding example of how the Church was converting the Empire in the fourth century. His efforts on behalf of his people knew no limits. When he was dying, his brethren begged him not to leave them. Martin then prayed, "Lord, if I am still necessary to thy people, I do not refuse the effort. Thy will be done." But the time had come for him to lay down the burden of his long ministry. He passed to his reward in 397.¹

2. St. Ambrose (340-397) and St. Augustine (354-430)

St. Ambrose was born in Gaul about 340, the son of a noble Roman family. His father was prefect of Gallia, which included France, Britain, Spain and North Africa. Both his parents were Christians. Ambrose was brought up in the Church, but his Baptism was postponed. The deferment of Baptism was unfortunately common in the fourth century. One reason was the harshness of the Sacrament of Penance. People put off Baptism, sometimes till their deathbed, in order that there would be no danger of having to do penance for sins committed after being baptized.

When Ambrose's father died in 354, his family moved to Rome where he received an excellent education in preparation for a government career. By 374 he was governor of Liguria, living in Milan.

In that year the Arian Bishop of Milan died. It was expected that the attempt to elect his successor would produce a bitter battle between the Arians and the Catholics. Ambrose attended the election as governor to see that order was kept. As he addressed the assembly urging them to proceed peacefully, someone—tradition says a child—shouted, "Ambrose for Bishop." The cry was taken up and he was

¹ This section is an all too brief summary of Louis Foley's superb biography, *The Greatest Saint of France*.

unanimously elected. He was baptized, ordained deacon and priest and consecrated bishop all in a week.

Ambrose devoted himself to his unexpected career. He gave away all his possessions. His brother resigned a prefecture in order to join him and manage the finances of the diocese. Ambrose devoted himself to the study and writing of theology and to the spiritual care of the diocese. His sermons were masterpieces of practical teaching.

The Arians were still strong in Milan, especially after 375 when Justina, herself an Arian, became virtual ruler of the West, as protectress of her infant son who was Emperor. She was determined to get at least one church in Milan for Arian worship. Ambrose successfully resisted her, but he held no grudge against her. In 386 when she and her son were attacked by a usurper, Ambrose's support enabled them to defeat him. Justina died the next year. Her son became a Catholic and put himself under Ambrose's guidance.

Theodosius I, the Emperor of the East, was at this time residing in Milan. He was a staunch Catholic and had called the Council of Constantinople I. But he was a man of quick temper. When the City of Thessalonica revolted against him, Theodosius ordered a massacre in which 7000 citizens perished. Ambrose wrote to the Emperor pointing out the evil of his deed and urging him to do penance. This the Emperor did publicly, whereupon Ambrose pronounced absolution and restored him to communion. In 395 it was Ambrose who ministered to this great Christian Emperor on his deathbed. The bishop himself died two years later.

Ambrose's most famous convert was St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430). We know much about this saint because his autobiography entitled *Confessions* has survived. It is, in fact, the greatest and most widely read spiritual autobiography the Church has produced.

Augustine was born at Tagaste in North Africa in 354. His father was a pagan but his devout mother, St. Monica, tried to raise her son as a Christian. He did not show much interest in the Church and was not baptized. He seems to have had a normal boyhood. He tells us he disliked school intensely and engaged in various pranks, such as stealing pears from a neighbor's tree.

In spite of his dislike of study, Augustine did well in school and his father sent him to Carthage in 370 to prepare for a career as a teacher of rhetoric. There he became interested in learning and applied himself diligently to the search for truth. He also, however, acquired a mistress with whom he lived for fifteen years and had a son by her named Adeodatus.

In 373 Augustine became a Manichaean. This heresy was a late form of Gnosticism. Augustine was attracted to it by its promise of free philosophic speculation unhindered by demands of faith and by its ascetic claims which he hoped would enable him to overcome his lust. In time, however, the foolishness of the Manichaean philosophy became apparent to Augustine's keen mind. He also discovered that the leaders of the sect, far from practising the asceticism they preached, engaged in all forms of self-indulgence. Augustine gradually dropped out of the sect.

When he had completed his education, he went first to Rome and then to Milan, where he became a professor of rhetoric. Here his mother joined him, having succeeded in converting his father to Christianity before the latter's death. Augustine now came under the influence of Ambrose, who convinced him intellectually that Christianity is the true philosophy. Ambrose does not seem to have paid any great attention to Augustine. Ambrose was accustomed to work in a ground floor room with a door open to the street, so that any who wished could visit him. When Augustine did so, Ambrose would go on with his work without interruption. This was a needed blow to Augustine's pride and increased his admiration for the Bishop of Milan.

There remained Augustine's moral problem. His mother induced him to dismiss his mistress, but this led only to the taking of others. Augustine's attitude was that he wanted to be cured of his sin, "but not yet." He did become interested in the Religious Life. One day after discussing it with his friend Alypius, Augustine heard a child in the distance crying, "Take up and read." Augustine picked up a copy of the Epistles of St. Paul and opened to Romans 13: 13-14. This passage convinced Augustine that he could find in Christ the power to overcome his sin. He determined at once to become a Christian and was baptized at Easter, 387, together with his son Adeodatus and friend Alypius.

Augustine and his friends began a diligent study of theology and Augustine himself started to write. Late in 387, he decided to return to North Africa. His son and his mother both died on the journey. On reaching Tagaste, Augustine and his friends established a monastery. But Augustine was not to remain long in retirement. The Bishop of Hippo insisted on ordaining Augustine a priest in 391, and coadjutor-bishop in 396. Augustine succeeded to the Bishopric of Hippo shortly after. As bishop he continued to live the Religious Life and to produce his great works of theology.

3. Pelagianism

St. Augustine engaged in three major controversies. The first was with the Manichaeans. In this controversy Augustine had the advantage of having been a member of the sect and therefore of knowing its doctrines from the inside. The argument turned on the problem of evil which the Manichaeans attributed to matter.

Augustine defended the Church's teaching that matter is good since it is created by God. Evil comes from human sin, which is man's deliberate rejection of God by the use of free will. Since Augustine's writings on other subjects have been used as the basis for a doctrine of absolute predestination, that is, the teaching that God determines in advance whether each soul is to be saved or lost, it should be noted that Augustine taught no such doctrine. He was emphatic in his defense of the freedom of the human will. The conflict with the Manichaeans came to a climax in 404 in a debate with Felix, the leading teacher of the sect in North Africa. Felix admitted defeat at the end of the debate. By this and his writings on the subject, Augustine was able to break the hold of the Manichaeans on North Africa.

Augustine was less successful in the second controversy, which was with the Donatists. In a conference held in 411, he was able to disprove their case and he developed to the full the doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ and a hospital for sinners. Augustine won many Donatists back to the Church. But as the schism rested really on African nationalism, it persisted and kept the African Church in a weakened condition.

Augustine's third and most famous controversy was with Pelagianism. Pelagius was a British monk of great austerity and devotion, as well as a learned theologian. He went to Rome about 400 and was shocked at the laxity of the church life there. He felt this was due to the Church's teaching that man can be saved only through Christ. This, he believed, led Christians to be content merely with being members of the Church and to make no real effort to resist temptation or to do good, on the ground that only Christ could do these things for them. Pelagius and his followers taught that man can save himself by working hard at self-discipline, relying on the strength of Christ only when he feels the need.

The Pelagians were right in attacking the laxity of Christians and in demanding real moral effort. They underestimated, however, the effect of sin on the human race. They believed some men could cure themselves without the help of Christ. This is untrue. Men are saved

only because Christ died for us, and only because we receive his strength (grace) through union with him. The normal channel of that grace is Baptism and the other Sacraments of the Church. That does not mean, however, that only baptized members of the Church are saved. Our Lord can find other means of uniting to himself souls who have no real opportunity to be baptized, but who do their best to respond to God's will as they know it.

Augustine was able to detect the error in Pelagius' teaching because his experience had been different. For years Augustine had been the slave of sin. He knew he had conquered it only by the grace of God. No amount of moral effort on Augustine's part would save him. He had to have the redemption and grace of Christ. He knew Pelagius needed it also, and if Pelagius thought he did not, it was because he was the victim of spiritual pride.

In his controversy with Pelagius, Augustine developed the Church's doctrine of grace. Briefly, it goes as follows. Men are free to sin. That is the one thing they can do in their own strength, and it is what they will do if they act in their own strength. But no man has to sin. When temptation comes, God always gives *sufficient grace* to resist the temptation. Men are free to use this grace or not. If they use it, they can resist the temptation. If they fail to use it, they fall into sin.

Having sinned, the human race is to a certain extent corrupt and diseased. It is not wholly evil, but it has lost the power to resist temptation in its own strength, and it cannot be fully united to God until it has been forgiven and redeemed. Christ gave his life to redeem man, and offers that redemption to individuals through the Church.

Although a person can resist temptation by the sufficient grace that God gives, he needs a different kind of grace to produce an action that is good in God's sight. Such an action must not only be good in itself; its basic motive must be the love of God and its ultimate end the glory of God. One can perform actions that are good in themselves and beneficial to one's neighbor, and do them for selfish reasons. One may, for instance, be seeking a reputation for generosity, or be trying to dominate another person by placing him under a debt of gratitude. These are not good works in the Church's use of the phrase. They are rather what St. Paul has in mind when he says, "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." (I Corinthians 13: 3.)

Good works, in the Christian sense, are an expression of "charity," the love of God and desire for his glory. To perform them requires a special power from God, called *efficacious grace*. This grace not only

gives the power to do the good work; it also moves the will to accept and use the power. Thus good works are wholly the fruit of efficacious grace and we will to do them only with its help. The meaning of this doctrine is that we can do no good thing, we cannot even choose to do a good thing, without the help of God. It protects the important truth that we cannot do anything for God. We can only let him work his will in us.

It will be seen that the Catholic doctrine of grace puts the guilt of sin where it belongs on the individual's free will. Sin is yielding to temptation when we have the power to resist. Therefore the doctrine does not discourage moral effort on our part; it demands it. It is true that good works are wholly the work of God through efficacious grace. "It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure." (Philippians 2: 13.) But it still remains true that, as St. Paul says in the preceding verse, you must "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." God rarely gives efficacious grace to a soul who is not resisting sin through sufficient grace and looking for opportunities to serve God. When God moves the will to accept efficacious grace he moves it freely. Therefore it seems to the soul that it chooses for itself. The soul which wants so to be moved is more likely to receive the grace.

Augustine lived to see an event that shook the ancient world to its foundations. This was the fall of Rome to the Germanic invaders in 410. Rome had been the unconquered mistress of the world for 700 years. To many the capture of the city seemed like the end of the world. Augustine wrote a book called *The City of God*, in which he pointed out that Rome was not truly the eternal city. The only Eternal City is the heavenly Jerusalem, the Kingdom of God and Christ.

The end of Augustine's life was darkened by another tribe of Germanic invaders. The Vandals crossed to North Africa in 429. Two years later Augustine died while they were besieging Hippo. The Vandals were Arians. The Catholic Church in North Africa, already split by the Donatists, was too weak to convert them. The Vandals oppressed the Catholics and almost wiped them out. Finally all three warring factions, Arians, Catholics, Donatists, fell easy prey to the Mohammedans in the seventh century.

C. THE CHURCH IN THE EAST

1. St. Jerome (340-420) and St. John Chrysostom (347-407)

St. Jerome is an excellent figure by whom to make our transition from the Western to the Eastern Church in the fourth century. He

was a westerner, the influence of whose work was felt chiefly in the West. But he lived most of his life in the East.

Jerome was born about 340 in Dalmatia. He went to Rome probably when he was about twenty years old. There he was baptized. He then went to Treves, where he began to study theology. We have already noted that Treves was a center of the Religious Life because of St. Athanasius' visits. Jerome became interested in it. Beginning in 370, he joined some friends at Aquileia in a fellowship of prayer and study. By 373, however, Jerome had quarreled with most of his companions and the group broke up.

It must be admitted that Jerome was not a pleasant character. He loved a fight and was engaged in one controversy after another. He was merciless in his criticisms of others and indulged in exaggerated personal abuse of his opponents. Yet the contribution of his great scholarship and his zeal for the Religious Life have won him a place among the saints of the church.

In 374 he went to Antioch, where he retired into the desert to live as a monk. By 379 he had again so fought with his neighbors that he had to return to Antioch. There he was ordained priest. The next year he went to Constantinople, where he became a pupil of St. Gregory of Nazianzus. In 382 he returned to Rome. Pope Damasus, who was himself a scholar and is chiefly famous for having located the tombs of the martyrs and written verses celebrating them, befriended Jerome. The Pope was also interested in improving the services of the Church, and encouraged him to revise the Latin Psalter and New Testament.

Jerome might have succeeded Damasus as Pope had he not antagonized most of the clergy of Rome by his merciless criticism of them. He interested several noble ladies in the Religious Life. One of them was so zealous in her austerities that she died. Her funeral produced a riot in which Jerome was nearly thrown into the Tiber. Thereupon he and the other ladies withdrew to Bethlehem, where in 386 he established a monastery for himself and a convent for the nuns. There he spent the remainder of his life, dying in 420.

Jerome's contribution to the Church may be summarized under three heads:

1. He was an important Church historian. He translated the work of Eusebius of Caesarea into Latin and brought it up to date. In this work he preserved much of the historical data of the early Church which otherwise would have been lost.
2. His theological work was marred by his violent controversies. He reflected the shifting attitude toward Origen. In early life Jerome was

an ardent disciple of Origen and defended him against all comers. But after 393 Jerome broke with the Origenists, who were emphasizing the heretical aspects of his teaching. This caused Jerome to quarrel with some of his oldest and best friends.

His greatest work in theology was his attack on Pelagianism. The East was not sensitive to the danger of this practical heresy. Pelagius received much support in the East and was acquitted by a council at Lydda in 415. Jerome, a westerner, saw clearly what was involved in Pelagianism and exerted all his efforts to influence the Eastern bishops against it. Although he did not live to see it condemned at the Council of Ephesus, 431, the verdict was due in a large measure to his work.

3. But Jerome's most enduring contribution was his Latin version of the Bible. At Bethlehem he made a new translation of the Old Testament, going back to the original Hebrew. This, together with the revision of the Psalms and the New Testament which he had made at Rome, is known as the Vulgate. It is still today the standard Bible of the Roman Catholic Church.

The career of St. John Chrysostom well illustrates a factor in the disputes which harassed the Eastern Church in the fourth and fifth centuries. John was born in Antioch of Christian parents in 347. His father died when he was a child, but his mother devoted herself to his upbringing. He was sent to the pagan schools in Antioch, where he was a brilliant student. He became at first a lawyer, but later was converted to Christianity about 371. He was interested in monasticism and lived as a monk, first in his own house, later in a cave near Antioch. His great austerities injured his health and he was forced to return to the city, where he was ordained deacon and priest.

John was one of the most eloquent preachers the Church has ever produced. His nickname—Chrysostom—means the "golden mouth." For sixteen years he was the leading preacher of Antioch. His most famous series of sermons was those preached in Lent, 387. The people of Antioch had rioted against the Emperor Theodosius I and destroyed his statues in the city. This insult put them at his mercy. All during Lent the people waited to learn what their punishment would be. It was a time of frantic prayer. Each day John Chrysostom preached to them, reassuring them, but reminding them that they must face an even more solemn judgment when they appeared before God at death. He won many converts. The punishment of the city, thanks to the intercessions of its bishop with the Emperor, was much lighter than had been expected.

In 397 the Patriarch of Constantinople died. The Emperor's chief

adviser, Eutropius, determined that John Chrysostom should succeed him. In this he was opposed by Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who was in Constantinople at the time, and by the people of Antioch, who wanted John to remain with them. Nevertheless Eutropius had John arrested and brought secretly to Constantinople. He was able to force Theophilus to consecrate him Patriarch.

Chrysostom at once won a great following, including at first the Empress and ladies of the court. But John was an austere man who would not tolerate vices and luxuries. His attempts to reform the immoral clergy of Constantinople turned them against him. His attack on the luxuries of the court lost him the support of the noble ladies.

Meanwhile Theophilus was waiting for an opportunity to overthrow John. He thought the time had come in 403, when Chrysostom befriended some Origenists from Alexandria whom Theophilus had condemned. Chrysostom was careful to respect Theophilus' rights, but he did intercede for them. Theophilus came to Constantinople, held a council and had Chrysostom condemned on trumped-up charges. Chrysostom left the city, but the people demanded his return. A second council reinstated him and Theophilus left the city in disgrace.

Shortly after his return John Chrysostom complained that the Church services were interrupted by the noise caused by the erection of the Empress' statue. This turned her against him and, with the help of Theophilus and incidentally of St. Jerome, she had him banished in 404. He was harried from place to place and treated so brutally that he died in 407. Thus Constantinople lost its second chance to have a great Catholic bishop.

Constantinople, the capital of the Empire, but a new city with no sound Church traditions, was the bone of contention between the great rivals, Antioch and Alexandria. As we shall see, whenever the influence of one of the rivals was strong in Constantinople, the other city was violent in its opposition.

2. Nestorianism

Theodore (350-428), Bishop of Mopsuestia, was a theologian of the school of Antioch and a friend of St. John Chrysostom. Like all the theologians of Antioch, he put great emphasis on the humanity of Christ. He taught that Jesus Christ was in every sense a man, a human being with a human person as well as a human nature. Theodore believed that Christ was perfectly united to God from the moment of his conception, but the kind of relationship he had with God was the

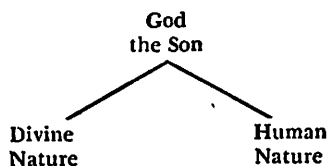
same as any man can have. It differed from our relationship only in *degree*. Christ was perfectly united to God; we are very imperfectly united. But the relationship was fundamentally the same.

This meant that Christ was merely a good and inspired man. It denied that he is God himself acting through a human nature. The Church teaches that Christ has a full and complete human nature, body, mind, spirit. But he is not a human person.¹ The Person who uses the human nature of Jesus Christ is God the Son, the Second Person of the Trinity. He, of course, retains the divine nature as well. Hence Christ is one Person, acting through two natures—divine and human.

CHART IX. THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST

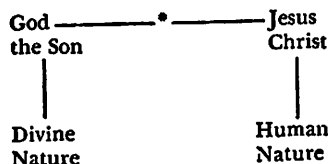
The Church

teaches that Christ is one Person, God the Son acting through two complete and distinct natures—divine and human. (One Person, two natures)



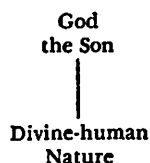
Nestorianism

taught that Jesus Christ was a distinct Person from God the Son. (Two Persons, two natures)



Monophysitism

taught that the divine and human natures in Christ were mixed to form one nature. (One Person, one nature)



*Perfect union, but the same kind as every human being can have with God.

¹ See p. 72 for the theological distinction between person and nature.

Theodore of Mopsuestia denied that God really became man. But he died in 428 without having been condemned as a heretic. The heresy is called Nestorianism, being named after Theodore's more famous and less fortunate disciple, Nestorius (?-452).

Nestorius was a priest of the Church of Antioch when he was elected Patriarch of Constantinople in 428. When he reached the city he found it full of heresy, which he vigorously attacked. One heresy which he found flourishing still was Apollinarianism. This, it will be remembered, taught that Christ had no human spirit. It had been condemned at the Council of Constantinople I in 381. The heresy was particularly obnoxious to a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius began to preach the doctrines of his master to combat it. In particular he attacked the title "Mother of God" which the Church used of the Virgin Mary. Theodore taught that, since the child Mary bore was simply a man united to God, she was not really the Mother of God. The Church, of course, insists that she has a right to the title, since her Child was God made man.

As Nestorius came from Antioch, it was to be expected that he would be opposed by the school of Alexandria. The Patriarch of Alexandria at this time was St. Cyril (c. 376-444). Cyril was a nephew of Patriarch Theophilus and succeeded him in 412. He had all his uncle's determination to exalt the Patriarchate of Alexandria at the expense of Antioch. But Cyril was a thoroughly sound theologian and a more skilful politician. When Nestorius attacked the title "Mother of God," Cyril challenged him. Both appealed to the Pope.

It might have been expected that the Pope of Rome would side with Nestorius. The Pope had championed Nestorius' predecessor St. John Chrysostom and had excommunicated Theophilus. Cyril himself had been out of communion with the Pope when he first became Patriarch, but the quarrel had been made up by 428. Cyril proved to be the more adept at handling the Pope. Nestorius offended him by failing to condemn some Pelagians who took refuge in Constantinople and by treating the Pope as an equal rather than as a superior. Cyril, on the other hand, was humbly subservient to the Pope. The Pope held a council in Rome, 430, which condemned Nestorius and gave Cyril authority to execute sentence on the heretic in the name of both Rome and Alexandria. Cyril demanded that Nestorius sign a twelve-point repudiation of his doctrine.

Meanwhile Nestorius asked the Emperor, Theodosius II, who supported him, to call a Council. It met at Ephesus in 431 and turned out to be the Third General Council. Cyril and his supporters got

there first and started the Council before the bishops from Antioch arrived. Nestorius refused to defend himself before the Council and was speedily condemned. The Council also condemned Pelagianism.

When the Bishops from Antioch arrived they were very angry, held their own council and condemned Cyril. This, however, did not help Nestorius. He lost the support of the Emperor and was exiled, retiring to a monastery in Syria. Cyril, having won his fight, knew how to be generous. He made certain concessions and was reconciled with the Patriarch of Antioch in 433. At this time Nestorius was sent to the Egyptian desert, where he was harried from place to place till his death sometime after 451.

Nestorius was an unfortunate man. It may well be that he was condemned unjustly, that he never really held the heresy of Nestorianism. It is certain that he did not have a fair trial and a document has been found in which he said he was willing to accept the Church's final formulation of the doctrine of the Incarnation which was drawn up at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

Yet, whether Nestorius himself was guilty or innocent, Nestorianism was a dangerous heresy which had to be condemned. It is essential to Christianity to believe that Christ is God made man—one divine Person with two natures, divine and human. Nestorianism has reappeared from time to time in Church History. A current reflection of it is the modern attack on the doctrine of the Virgin Birth of Christ.

Nestorianism itself did not die out at once. The heresy was used by a large section of the Syrian Church to assert its nationalistic revolt against the Empire, just as Donatism was used by the North Africans. Nestorianism was also adopted by the Persian Christians. The Church in Persia had been severely persecuted ever since the Roman Empire had become Christian, because Persian Christians held the religion of their country's enemies. Accordingly they welcomed a form of Christianity which was condemned by the Empire. The Persian kings eventually tolerated Nestorianism, while continuing to persecute Catholic Christianity. The Nestorian Church flourished, sent out missionaries as far as China and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries may have had more members than the Catholic Church. It was, however, cut off from the main stream of Christianity. It gradually declined and today has almost died out.

3. Monophysitism

When St. Cyril died in 444 he was succeeded as Patriarch of Alexandria by his archdeacon, Dioscorus (?-454). The latter had all Cyril's

violent zeal for the advancement of Alexandria, but he completely lacked Cyril's political skill and he was unsound theologically. Dioscorus had the support of the Emperor Theodosius II, a weak man who fancied himself a theologian, and who after he had deserted Nestorius became a violent partisan of Alexandria. Dioscorus was determined to stamp out the school of Antioch and opened his attack on two disciples of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodore (393-457), Bishop of Cyrus, and Ibas (?-457), Bishop of Edessa. At first Dioscorus was only partially successful.

The Alexandrian school in its opposition to Nestorianism soon fell into the opposite error which is known as Monophysitism. Not content with the assertion that Christ is only one Person, God the Son, they also claimed that he has only one nature. When God became man, according to them, the divine and human natures were mixed to form a single divine-human nature. This heresy therefore denies that Christ had a real human nature.

The controversy broke out when a monk in Constantinople named Eutyches (?-454) began to teach Monophysitism. He was condemned in 448 by his Patriarch, St. Flavian (?-449). In this action Antioch concurred. But Dioscorus championed Eutyches, whom he endorsed as an exponent of the Alexandrian position. Counting on the support of the Emperor Theodosius II, Dioscorus set out to get the verdict reversed and Flavian deposed.

Meanwhile both sides had appealed to the Pope, Leo I (390-461), one of the greatest men that has ever occupied that office. Leo had been brought up in Rome and from an early age had served the Church there in important diplomatic and executive positions. By about 430 he was Archdeacon of Rome and in 440 became Pope.

As Pope, Leo had no hesitation in claiming to be head of the Church and in the West, he succeeded in making his claim good. He was vigorous in stamping out heresy and diligent in enforcing discipline on other bishops and their clergy, including St. Hilary of Arles, one of the holiest men of his time, whom Leo called arrogant, unjust and untruthful because he resisted the Pope's directions. Leo also dealt effectively with the Germans who were invading the Empire. In 452 Leo single-handedly persuaded Attila the Hun not to sack Rome. He was less successful with Genseric in 455, who plundered the city. But Leo was able to save the lives of the citizens and to protect the Churches. All this increased the prestige of the Papacy.

Leo tried to assert full authority over the Eastern Church. In this he met with more opposition. When Eutyches and Flavian appealed

the Monophysite question to him, Leo wrote Flavian a letter, known as the *Tome* of Leo, in which he expounded the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation as held in the West. It asserted that Christ is one Person in two distinct natures, human and divine. Accordingly, Eutyches and Monophysitism were condemned. This pronouncement, in Leo's mind, settled the question.

But the Emperor Theodosius II called a council which met at Ephesus in 449. Dioscorus was completely in control. The *Tome* of Leo was rejected. Eutyches was acquitted. Flavian was condemned and treated so brutally that he died as a result. Theodoret and Ibas were deposed and excommunicated. Even Domnus, Patriarch of Antioch, was condemned and deposed. Leo, of course, was furious and called the meeting a council of robbers, by which name it has been known ever since.

In 450 Theodosius II died and the situation changed. Theodosius II was succeeded by his sister Pulcheria. She at once married her chief general, Marcian, who became Emperor. The new rulers were unwilling to submit to the arrogance of Dioscorus and sided with Leo against him. They did not, however, accept his *Tome* as settling the question. They called the Fourth General Council, which met at Chalcedon in 451. The Pope sent four legates, one of whom was co-chairman with the Patriarch of Constantinople. The *Tome* was read and loudly acclaimed. But it was not passed at once. It was subjected to careful study by a committee of bishops and passed a couple of days later after the Council had made sure that it expressed the Faith. This is important, because the Roman Catholics claim that the *Tome* is an instance of the Pope settling a dispute by an infallible utterance. The Council of Chalcedon did not accept the *Tome* because the Pope wrote it; they accepted it because, after investigation, they decided it expressed the truth.

The Council of Chalcedon deposed Dioscorus and accepted the previous condemnations of Eutyches. Both were banished. Theodoret and Ibas were restored to their dioceses. So far so good. But the Council then went on, at the request of the Emperor and in spite of the protests of the papal legates, to declare Constantinople to be the chief Patriarchate of the East as Rome was of the West. Leo flatly refused to accept this, pointing out that Nicaea I had made Alexandria second to Rome and Antioch third. Two years after the Council, the Patriarch of Constantinople apologized to Leo and they were reconciled. But the action of the Council seems to have remained in force.

Constantinople did in fact become the leading Patriarchate in the

East because Alexandria, its only real rival in the fifth century, was broken by the condemnation of Dioscorus. One of the most unfortunate results of the Monophysite controversy was that Alexandria ceased to serve as a link between Rome and the East. Ever since the days of Athanasius there had been strong bonds of sympathy between Rome and Alexandria. The latter had been able to interpret Eastern thought to the West. After 451 this was no longer possible. Rome and Constantinople began to drift further and further apart.

Monophysitism, like Nestorianism, did not die out when it was condemned. A large section of the native Church in Syria and almost the whole native Church in Egypt, known as the Coptic Church, used Monophysitism as a means of expressing their nationalistic revolt against the Empire. The Coptic and Ethiopian Churches are still Monophysite today. Their theology differs very little from that of the Catholic Church, because the extreme form of the heresy has generally died out. But they continue to be cut off from the other Eastern Orthodox Churches.

4. Caesaro-Papalism

The rivalry of the two ancient Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch and the efforts of Constantinople to obtain leadership determined the form of Church government in the East. In their struggles with each other the Patriarchs were constantly appealing to the Emperor for help. The one who could obtain his support was temporarily victorious. This meant that the Emperor was the arbiter of Church affairs in the East and became for all practical purposes the head of the Church. The final victory of Constantinople over the other Patriarchates strengthened the Emperor's position. The appointment of the Patriarch of Constantinople was in the Emperor's hands. The control of the Emperor over the Church is known as Caesaro-papalism.

It is the established tradition of the Orthodox Churches, as the Eastern Churches are called, to be subservient to the state. When the ruler of the state is a Christian he has much influence on Church affairs. In return he is expected to enforce the laws of the Church. In a Christian Orthodox country it is a crime punishable by fines, imprisonment or even death to disobey Church law.

We have seen how Catholic Christian Emperors helped the Church. Constantine ended the persecution of Christianity. Theodosius I ended the Arian controversy. Theodosius II acquiesced in the condemnation of Nestorianism and Marcian defeated Monophysitism. But we

have also seen the other side of the picture. Arianism would never have gained control of the Church had it not had the support of Constantius. St. John Chrysostom was driven from Constantinople because he offended a frivolous Empress. Both Nestorianism and Monophysitism were able to plunge the Eastern Church into turmoil because each in turn was encouraged by Theodosius II. Nor was he to be the last of the heretical Emperors who persecuted the Catholics.

Furthermore the treating of heresy as a crime against the Empire tended to perpetuate rather than stamp out the heresies. Heretics punished by the state became martyrs in the eyes of those who agreed with them. The Church was placed in the position of being a persecutor. This prevented the Church from converting the heretics, and those who for political reasons opposed the state tended to oppose the state Church as well.

The most serious disadvantage of Caesaro-papalism, however, was the intrusion of politics into Church life. Since the appointment of the chief officers of the Church was in the Emperor's hands, ambitious clergy would court his favor. The most subservient men would get the highest positions and retain them by following his wishes. Thus the Church became the tool of state policy. Frequently this meant acquiescence in tyranny and corruption. Sometimes it even meant a lowering of the Church's standards. It is a testimony to the strength of Eastern Christianity that this has happened less often than might have been expected. The most serious instance is the lowering of standards in regard to divorce and remarriage. The Eastern Churches grant annulments of marriage on grounds that are hard to justify in terms of Christian law.

The best of the Christian Emperors was Justinian I (483-565), who came to the throne in 527. He set out to restore the glory of the Empire and recaptured Italy and North Africa from the Germans. But he was not content with military success. He reduced the complicated laws of both Church and state to order, simplifying them and establishing the fundamental principles of legal justice. His *Code* is the basis of all subsequent law, both civil law and canon law, the latter being the law of the Church. He also made an enormous contribution to architecture, building Churches all over the Empire. The most famous is St. Sophia in Constantinople, which for centuries was a Mohammedan mosque and is now a museum.

In order to unify the Empire in the East, Justinian tried to conciliate the Monophysites. By the sixth century there were very few Nestorians left in the Empire, the center of that heresy being in

Persia. There was, however, a strong Monophysite Church in Syria and Egypt. If it could be reunited to the Catholic Church, the Empire would be strengthened.

Justinian always remained faithful to the decisions of Chalcedon. But he wanted to make clear that they were not to be interpreted in a Nestorian sense. There were certain writings, which were accepted as Catholic, which had a strong tendency toward Nestorianism and which it was difficult to interpret in any other way. These were the works of Origen, of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the teacher of Nestorius, and some passages by Theodoret and Ibas. For convenience we shall call this heresy Origenism. Justinian set out to get it condemned.

This was not easy. Rome had great respect for the Council of Chalcedon at which the Pope had played so large a part. Two of the writers whom Justinian wanted to condemn, Theodoret and Ibas, had been approved by that Council and restored to their dioceses. They were both disciples of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Rome had always a sympathetic attachment to Origen. For some time the Pope held out against the Emperor. But in 553, he finally acquiesced and Justinian called the Fifth General Council, Constantinople II. Origen and Theodore were declared heretics and the Nestorian passages of Theodoret and Ibas were condemned. Thus the loose ends of Nestorianism were disposed of.

There is some question whether Origen deserves to be called a heretic. He was a pioneer in theology, writing before exact definitions had to be made in order to rule out dangerous heresies. There were passages in his writings that could be used by the heretics. But the Catholics also derived much of their position from his writings as well. It is very doubtful that Origen would himself have endorsed the heresies that were supported by his writings.

There is no question, however, that the Fifth General Council was right in condemning the passages it did. It was almost impossible to interpret them in anything except a Nestorian sense. The Church could not endorse as valid statements passages that flatly contradicted the Faith. If it had endorsed contradictory statements it would have taken that kind of liberal position which denies that there is any clear-cut truth.

- See Review Outline III. The Age of the Councils.
IV. The General Councils.
V. The Major Heresies.
VI. The Dark Ages.

CHART X. THE PENDULUM OF HERESY

Gnosticism
(Christ a lesser god)

Arianism
(Christ a creature)
Macedonianism
(Holy Spirit
a creature)

Nestorianism
(Human person
in Christ
distinct from
God the Son.
2 Persons,
2 Natures)

Origenism
(Tended
toward
Nestorian-
ism)

The Church teaches

Trinity
God is three Persons
in one Divine Nature.

Incarnation
Christ is one Person,
God the Son, acting
through two complete
and distinct natures,
divine and human.
1 Person, 2 Natures.

Sabellianism
(Only one Person
in God)

Apollinarianism
(Christ has no
human spirit)

Monophysitism
(Divine and
human natures
in Christ mixed.
1 Person,
1 Nature)

Monothelitism
(Christ had
no human
will)

CHAPTER V

The Dark Ages

A. THE WESTERN CHURCH

1. The Rise of the Papacy

THE SITUATION in the West was the exact opposite of that in the East. The Pope had no rival Patriarchs to contend with. Rome was the only Church in the West that could claim to have been founded by an Apostle. As St. Peter was believed to have been its first bishop and as both he and St. Paul were martyred there according to the traditions, Rome's claims were stronger even than the Eastern Patriarchates.

Furthermore after Constantine moved the seat of the Empire to Constantinople, there was an Emperor in the West only when the Empire was divided. The Western Emperor, when there was one, was usually the weaker of the two and rarely took much interest in Church affairs. As the Pope had no rivals in his domain, there were no quarrels to be referred to the Emperor for settlement.

The result was that in the West the Pope, not the Emperor, became the recognized head of the Church. By the fifth century various popes had also claimed supremacy over the Eastern Church as well. This claim rested on their interpretation of our Lord's words, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," as making St. Peter and his successors the supervisors of the whole Church.

The East never officially and explicitly admitted this interpretation. Yet in practice the Eastern Patriarchs frequently appealed to the Pope. When two Patriarchs were quarreling, each would desire his support, since his endorsement carried with it the approval of the Western



Church. Again and again the dispute would be referred to the Pope by both parties, and the most diplomatic way to do this was to recognize the Pope's right to pass judgment. Therefore we find Eastern Patriarchs humbly submitting in advance to the Pope's verdict as they refer a dispute to him. Of course, if he decided against them, they at once denied that he had any authority to judge.

The side which the Pope endorsed did win out in every instance. Rome had a splendid record in defending the Catholic Faith in the early centuries. This was due to several factors. 1) Rome was always conservative. It rarely endorsed a doctrine or practice before it had widespread, if not universal, acceptance. That which is universally taught by the Church is by definition the Catholic Faith. 2) The Western Church had worked out simple yet satisfactory formulae for stating the disputed doctrines. 3) Rome was not directly concerned in the Eastern quarrels and not particularly interested in them. It could therefore view them with detachment and test the various theories by its own simple formulae. There can be no question but that it was Rome which saved the early Church from sinking into the bog of Eastern speculation.

Had the rivalry between the three great Eastern Patriarchates continued down the centuries, Rome might have established her authority over them. Their divisions were her strength. For this reason the Pope did all he could to prevent Constantinople from getting a position of priority in the East. He did not succeed. Antioch and Alexandria were so weakened by the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies that Constantinople easily gained ascendancy over them. Then Rome and Constantinople became rivals. Rome lost her position of the independent judge of others' quarrels and became merely one of the disputants.

But meanwhile Rome's power in the West was growing enormously and with it the grandeur of her claims. During the fifth century the Roman Empire in the West crumbled before the onslaughts of the Germanic invaders. These tribes had been pushed out of eastern Europe by the Slavs who had moved in from Asia. The Germanic tribes moved westward and finally broke into the Empire across the Rhine and Danube. They overran Italy, France, Spain, North Africa and Britain, first plundering and finally settling down to live. The collapse of the Roman Empire in the West was, of course, a gradual process lasting two centuries, but it is usually dated 476, the year in which the reign of the last Western Emperor of Roman birth ended.

The invaders had a primitive tribal civilization, which was much

lower than that of the Roman Empire. Many of them were pagans who had never heard of Christianity. Others were Christians, but as they had been converted by missionaries from Constantinople at a time when that city was in the hands of the Arians, they were Arians. All the invaders, therefore, were at first opposed to the Catholic Church.

Nevertheless, the Church was the one institution that was strong enough to resist the invaders and win their respect. The courage and ability of its leaders, the bishops and especially the Popes, contrasted favorably with the weakness of the Emperors. As we have seen, Pope Leo I twice defended Rome when the Emperor did not lift his finger to help the city. The Church also was able to maintain some unity through the Pope, whereas the Empire fell completely apart. As a result, all Roman citizens, those who were pagans as well as those who were Christians, looked more and more to the Church and the Pope as the one stronghold which could protect them from the invaders and save something of their civilization.

When invaders of a lower culture conquer a higher civilization, they always in the end adopt much of the culture of the people they have conquered. Accordingly, the Germanic tribes were eventually converted to Catholic Christianity and through the Church the remnants of the Roman culture were passed on to them. The first tribe to be converted was the Franks. The process started with the Baptism of Clovis in 496. This brought them into friendly relations with the native Catholic population. Its support, together with their own energy, enabled the Franks to become in time the dominant tribe in western Europe. Meanwhile the other tribes were gradually converted from paganism or Arianism. The Catholic Church they entered was one in which the Pope was accepted without question as its head.

The Pope therefore emerged from the ruins of the Roman Empire as the dominant figure of Western Christendom. He was the undisputed head of the Church. None of the rulers of the little Germanic kingdoms into which the Empire was divided was strong enough to be his rival. The Pope was frequently in a position where he could judge between disputing nations or between rival claimants to the throne of one of them. When one of these nations did succeed in conquering most of Europe, it was the Franks, the tribe which for the longest time had recognized the Pope. Thus the situation in the West was the exact opposite of that in the East. In the East the Emperor became head of the Church as well as of the state because first, he was a judge between rival Patriarchs, and second, his own Patriarch of

Constantinople gained the final supremacy. In the West the Pope became head of the state as well as the Church because first, the nations looked to him as a judge, and second, the nation most loyal to him finally conquered the others.

2. St. Benedict (480-543)

St. Benedict was born in Nursia, Italy, of well-to-do Christian parents. He was sent to Rome to complete his education. Before long, however, he determined to become a monk. With his nurse, who acted as his housekeeper, he withdrew to Enfide where he could pursue his studies with less distraction. One day his nurse dropped and broke an earthenware sieve she had borrowed. To console her, Benedict prayed and the sieve is said to have been miraculously repaired. The miracle caused great excitement. The sieve was hung up in the local Church. The villagers decided Benedict was a saint and flocked to him in such numbers that all hope of retirement was lost. Benedict fled.

He came to Subiaco, where there was a monastery. He did not, however, enter this. He met a monk before he reached the monastery who, learning of Benedict's desire for solitude, showed him a cave and agreed to bring him each day a small share of his own scanty food.

For three years Benedict lived completely alone at Subiaco devoting himself to prayer. He was subjected to various temptations. The most violent was a remembrance of a girl he had known in Rome. He found himself longing to leave his solitude and go to her. To conquer this temptation, Benedict ripped off his clothes and threw himself naked into a thicket of briars and nettles, rolling about in it until the lustful desires were stilled.

At the end of three years, Benedict's retreat was discovered by some peasants and his period of solitude was over. People began to visit him. His reputation spread. The monks of a nearby monastery of Vicovaro made him their abbot. He was reluctant to accept, but finally did and set out to correct the abuses of the monastery. This was more than the monks had bargained for. One day, we are told, they presented Benedict with a glass of poisoned wine. When he made the sign of the cross over it, the glass shattered. Realizing what had happened, Benedict returned to his cave.

Gradually disciples came and joined themselves to Benedict. He organized a group of monasteries along the lines St. Pachomius had followed in Egypt. Each house had its own abbot, but Benedict acted as supervisor of them all. The monastic colony so prospered, that the

local parish priest, a man of very lax standards, grew jealous and offended. He sent Benedict a poisoned loaf of bread, which the saint detected. There was a raven which came each day to be fed by Benedict. He gave the raven the loaf, bidding the bird to cast it where none would find it. This the raven is said to have done.

The priest then tried to disrupt the life of the monastery. Benedict decided that the only way to protect the community was for himself to leave. In 529 he took a few of his closest disciples, set off for southern Italy and organized the monastery of Monte Cassino, building it on the site of an old temple of Apollo. Benedict's sister, St. Scholastica, founded a convent of nuns nearby.

The organization of Monte Cassino was different from Subiaco. All the monks were kept in one family with the abbot as the father of all. For his monks Benedict wrote his famous *Rule*, which was to become the basis of all other monastic rules in the West. For this reason, Benedict is called the Father of Western Monasticism. He was not, of course, the first western monk. From the time of St. Athanasius, the Religious Life had been followed in the West. We have seen how St. Martin established monasteries, and there were many others. But St. Benedict's *Rule* was so simple and yet so perfect an expression of the fundamentals of the Religious Life that it rapidly replaced all the earlier forms of Western Monasticism.

Benedict's great original contribution was the realization of the place of the community in the Religious Life. The first Religious were hermits living alone. St. Pachomius saw the dangers of this and provided community life as a safeguard against them. The community, however, was looked on as a concession to human weakness. The ideal was still the hermit life and each monk was left alone as much as was safe for him.

Benedict himself had been a hermit. He had organized at Subiaco a monastery like those of Pachomius. But when he established Monte Cassino, Benedict followed a different principle. He did not consider the community to be a mere safeguard. He looked on it as the central factor in monastic life, the great opportunity to practise to the full the vow of Obedience. The monk was to give himself to God by surrendering to the Community. He was to find in the sacrifices necessitated by loving family life the great opportunity to lose himself for God. If a group of men or women are to live together in brotherly or sisterly love, each must give up his own personal tastes and desires. This Benedict rightly saw could be the chief discipline of the Religious Life.

In order to give permanence to community life, Benedict had his monks add to Obedience the vow of Stability. They promised to remain in the same monastic family for the rest of their lives. The first duty of his monks was what he called the *opus dei*, the work of God. This consisted of singing the praises of God. A large portion of Benedicts' *Rule* is spent in arranging the seven services during the day and the long night service, so that all 150 Psalms will be recited once a week. The time spent in prayer, however, was somewhat less than had been required by earlier rules. The same is true of ascetic practices like fasting. Benedict stood for moderation in these things. He counted on the discipline of family life to make up the difference.

In addition to prayer, the Benedictine monks engaged in manual labor and study. The latter was to be very important. Their monasteries became places where precious manuscripts could be kept and copies of them made. This is the way in which the literature of the Roman Empire, both Christian and pagan, was preserved.

The changes and developments in the Religious Life for which Benedict was responsible have had so lasting an effect that he is rightly called the Father of Western Monasticism. The title is particularly apt. For the abbot of a Benedictine Monastery is above all a father of his monks. Benedict not only demands this in his *Rule*; he demonstrated it in his life. He turned monasticism into the spiritual family life which it has been ever since. He was and still is the Father of Monks.

3. St. Gregory the Great (540-604)

Benedict wrote his *Rule* for his own monks. He did not expect other monasteries to adopt it. The *Rule*, however, was so clear and simple that it spread rapidly. One aid to its spread was the destruction of Monte Cassino by the Lombards about forty years after Benedict's death. His monks fled to Rome taking their *Rule* with them. There visiting monks came in contact with them and carried the *Rule* back to their home monasteries.

The person most responsible for the spread of Benedictinism was St. Gregory the Great (540-604). He was the son of a wealthy Christian family in Rome. His father held an important position in the state. The devotion of his mother and two of his aunts was so marked that they are counted among the Church's saints. Gregory was given a good education in preparation for a state career. When he was about thirty he became praetor of Rome.

Gregory's real interest, however, was in the Religious Life. When his father died, he used most of his inheritance to found monasteries

and he himself entered the one in Rome. Although this was before the destruction of Monte Cassino and the flight of the Benedictine monks to Rome, Gregory's monasteries may have followed the Benedictine *Rule* from the start. After the monks reached Rome, Gregory was diligent in collecting from them the stories and traditions of St. Benedict's life, which he later used in writing a biography of the Father of Western Monasticism. This biography is marred by an amazing credulity which led Gregory to accept as true the most unlikely miracles. Gregory used the position and influence he later obtained for spreading the Benedictine *Rule*.

Gregory was not allowed to remain in the retirement of his monastery. The Pope needed a representative to send to Constantinople. He ordained Gregory deacon in 578. Gregory served as papal ambassador to Constantinople, 579-585. This brought him into contact with the Eastern Church and broadened the scope of his learning. It was also excellent training in diplomatic and administrative affairs.

In 586 he returned to Rome and became abbot of his monastery. But he was employed by the Pope as his secretary as well. In 590 he was elected Pope much against his will. He sent a letter to the Emperor begging him not to confirm his election, but it was intercepted and the Emperor gave his approval. When Gregory heard this he fled from Rome. He was pursued and found, brought back and consecrated, thus becoming Pope Gregory I.

Gregory was one of the most zealous pastors who served as Pope. He was vigorous in his campaign against heresy, especially the Donatists and Manichaeans who still persisted in North Africa. He was diligent in correcting the abuses of the clergy and monks. He exempted monasteries from the control of bishops and did all he could to see that they were adequately endowed. He did not hesitate to intervene in the election of bishops to assure that suitable men were chosen. Once they had taken office, however, Gregory was careful to respect their rights in their own dioceses. He was never harsh or domineering in his dealings with others, even when correcting abuses. At all times he displayed true love and zeal for souls.

He was constantly urging the bishops to correct the abuses of the clergy in their dioceses, and to encourage priests to act as real pastors of their people. To aid them in this work, Gregory wrote a *Book on Pastoral Care*, which became the standard textbook on the subject throughout the Middle Ages.

While Gregory was Pope the Lombards, a Germanic tribe in northern Italy which was still Arian, became very strong and threatened

Rome itself. Gregory, as the representative of the Eastern Emperor, raised troops and by force and diplomacy defended the city. This made Gregory the most important political figure in Italy. He also administered the papal estates in central Italy very wisely, increasing their revenues and using them for the support of the Church, the defense of Rome, and the establishment of charitable enterprises.

Gregory had little difficulty in exercising supervision over the Church in Italy. He was less successful in his attempt to control the French Church. In 589 the Church in Spain officially renounced Arianism which had been brought in by the Germanic invaders. Gregory sent the pall to the Archbishop of Seville. The pall was a small stole sent by the Pope to the Metropolitans of provincial Churches. Its acceptance was a recognition of the Pope's rights of supervision.

Gregory sent St. Augustine of Canterbury and other monks from his monastery in Rome to convert the Anglo-Saxons in England. As we shall see, this mission was not the only one responsible for the reconversion of England. It did, however, keep the English Church in contact with the main stream of Western Christianity and lead to its acceptance of the Pope as the head of the Church.

In the East the Pope, as usual, had more difficulty in establishing his position of superiority. Matters came to a head because the Patriarch of Constantinople insisted on calling himself "Universal Bishop." In protesting against this, the Pope adopted three interesting lines of policy. 1) He stopped using the title himself and substituted "Servant of the Servants of God." 2) He advanced the theory that the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch shared with the Pope the primacy of Peter. This was an extreme form of the standard papal policy of exalting Antioch and Alexandria at the expense of Constantinople. 3) To win the support of the Emperor, Gregory was always very subservient to him. On several occasions the Pope carried out the wishes of the Emperor when they were directly contrary to his ordinary policy. When a usurper seized the imperial throne, murdering his predecessor and his supporters with great brutality, the Pope at once accepted the usurper as Emperor and addressed him in most flattering terms.

As a theologian Gregory was neither brilliant nor original. He did, however, collect the chief works of the earlier theologians and arranged them in an orderly form. Another contemporary who did similar work was St. Isidore, who was Bishop of Seville 600-636. The writings of Gregory and Isidore were the main channels through which the thought of the early Church was transmitted to the Middle Ages.

Gregory deserves the title "Father of the Medieval Church." His emphasis on the Church as a spiritual institution with the Pope as its head, his summary of Catholic theology, his deep regard for the Sacraments and for the clergy as their ministers, his emphasis on the Religious Life and his amazingly credulous belief in miracles all set the pattern of Church life for the next nine centuries.

4. Charlemagne (742-814)

One element in the medieval set-up did not reach its full development when St. Gregory I was Pope. It was not until 800 that the relationship between Church and state took the form that was to last throughout the Middle Ages.

We have seen that the Franks were the first Germanic tribe to be converted to Catholic Christianity. In 493 Clovis (466-551), the king of one of the Frankish tribes, married a Burgundian princess who was a Catholic. On Christmas 496 he and 3000 of his followers were baptized. This won him the support of the old Roman population and, together with his own skill, enabled him to extend his kingdom to include most of France. During the sixth century the Franks continued to conquer more territory.

Gradually the other Germanic tribes were converted to Catholicism. But as the Franks were the first to adopt the Faith, they had the longest and strongest friendship with the Pope. In the eighth century this was turned into a political alliance.

After 639, the real rulers of the Franks were not the kings but the mayors of the palace, who made and unmade the kings at will. In 751, Pippin, the mayor, decided to put the king in a monastery and ascend the throne himself. In order to assure his position, he wanted the approval of the Pope.

The Pope was also in need of aid. The relations between him and the Eastern Emperor had long been strained over Iconoclasm.¹ The Pope could not count on the Emperor's support in his struggle with the Lombards who were again threatening Rome. Therefore the Pope was ready to welcome the help of the Franks against the Lombards. To get this, the Pope permitted Pippin to become King of the Franks in 751. Three years later the Pope himself went to France and gave the King his personal blessing.

Pippin then proceeded to fulfil his part of the bargain. He sent an army into Italy which twice defeated the Lombards and forced them

¹ See p. 128.

to give certain territories to the Pope. This was the beginning of the Papal States, a tract of land in central Italy, including the city of Rome, of which the Pope was the political ruler. Thus the Pope became an Italian prince. He retained this position until 1870. The modern Vatican City is a token revival of his political sovereignty.

It was at this time that the legend of the Donation of Constantine arose. A forged document was produced which claimed that Constantine after his conversion made the Pope not only head of the Church but also ruler of "the City of Rome and all the provinces, districts, and cities of Italy or of the Western regions."¹ This supposedly put the political supervision of the Western Empire into the Pope's hands. A few medieval scholars questioned the forgery, but it was generally accepted until proven false in the fifteenth century.

When Pippin died in 768, he divided his kingdom between his two sons. One of them died in 771, however, and the other, Charles (742-814), became sole ruler. His success was so spectacular that the word "great" has become inseparably attached to his name and he is known as Charlemagne.

Charlemagne was a military genius and he more than doubled the size of his kingdom. At his death he ruled all of France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Austria, most of Germany, more than half of Italy and parts of Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Spain. (See Map page 113.) This was the largest territory in the West under a single ruler since the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century. It was inevitable that men should think of Charlemagne's kingdom as the successor to the Empire in the West. The Pope confirmed this in 800. On Christmas Day in St. Peter's Church, Rome, the Pope placed the imperial crown on the head of Charlemagne, establishing the Holy Roman Empire, which was to dominate European politics throughout the Middle Ages.

Charlemagne was a devoted son of the Church. Some of the tribes of Western Germany had already been converted to Christianity by the efforts of the Celtic missionaries.² But the Saxons were forced to accept Christianity when they were conquered. Their conversion was completed by the establishment of bishoprics and monasteries. Charlemagne strengthened the power of bishops and used them as his political advisers and agents. But it should be noted that he kept the appointment of bishops in his own hands.

¹ Quoted from Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, page 204.

² See p. 135.

Charlemagne was zealous for the reform of the Church. He tried to correct the abuses of the clergy and monasteries. The Emperor also encouraged a revival of learning. The leading figure in this was Alcuin (735?-804), whom Charlemagne made Abbot of St. Martin's monastery in Tours. Schools were established in monasteries and even at the Court. An improved alphabet was devised. The services of the Church were beautified. Most of these gains were to be lost during the confusion in which Europe was plunged for 150 years after Charlemagne's death, but the seeds of medieval culture had been planted.

The crowning of Charlemagne typifies the medieval ideal of the relationship between the Church and state. The Pope is the head of the Church; the Emperor of the state. Both derive their power from God and both were to co-operate in doing his will. The Pope was to maintain the Faith and spiritual life of the Church and to see that it remained loyal to the state. The Emperor was to regulate secular affairs, enforce Church law, and collect Church taxes (tithes).

The unsettled question was who had the final authority—Pope or Emperor. The Pope claimed it, as the head of the Church, responsible for the moral life of all of its members, including the Emperor. But the Emperor claimed the right to appoint bishops and to govern the Church in his realm. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Pope, as ruler of the Papal States, was subject to the Emperor. The question was never settled in theory. In practice it depended on who was stronger. When the state was weak or divided, an able Pope could exercise wide authority. On the other hand, when the Papacy was weak or corrupt, the Emperor could control it. On several occasions he had to rescue the Papacy from complete moral degeneration.

When Charlemagne died in 814 he was succeeded by his son, Louis the Pious, a devout man who was not equal to administering the Empire. On his death in 840, his sons quarreled over the Empire and finally divided it among them, one taking France, another Germany, and the third a strip running from Italy through Switzerland to Belgium and Holland. This was most unfortunate as it created a no-man's land between France and Germany over which those two countries have been fighting ever since.

B. THE EASTERN CHURCH

1. Mohammedanism

To include a section on the Eastern Church in the chapter on the Dark Ages may be misleading. The Western Roman Empire fell during the fifth century and the West was plunged into a period of

turmoil while the Germanic tribes fought over the spoils. Most of the Roman culture was swept away or at least pushed underground. When it re-emerged at the founding of the Holy Roman Empire, it was greatly changed.

No such break either in government or in culture occurred in the East. The Eastern Empire with its capital in Constantinople lasted a thousand years after the fall of the Western Empire. The Greek-speaking Christian culture persisted unchanged in any fundamental aspect. Yet there was a continuous, gradual decline of both Church and state. The Church produced no leaders of the calibre of those who had flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries. The state had no more Emperors of the ability of Justinian I. And both Church and state lost much territory to a new power which arose in Arabia.

Mohammed (570-632) was born in Mecca where there was a popular pagan shrine. Although he claims to have been left an orphan at an early age, his family seems to have been prominent in their tribe. We know little of Mohammed's early life, except that he accompanied trading caravans traveling about in Arabia before his marriage about 595. These journeys brought him into contact with the Jewish religion and with Christianity, probably in the form of some heretical sect. He did not adopt either religion in its entirety, but drew elements from both, which he mingled with the local pagan religion of his Arabian tribe to form a new religion of his own.

He claims to have received his call to be a prophet of this religion from the Archangel Gabriel in 610. Mohammed's concept of a prophet was an agent through whom God spoke giving specific revelations and directions which had the authority of God himself. Hence Mohammed was a complete dictator—the lawgiver, administrator, judge and general-in-chief of his followers.

Shortly after his call, Mohammed began to do two things. He quietly gathered a band of followers. He started to dictate the Koran, the record of the revelations he claimed to have received. The Koran is the basis of Mohammedanism, which, like the Jewish religion, rests on a code of law written in a book. Mohammed considered his religion to be the culmination of both the Jewish and Christian faiths. At first he tried to win the support of the Jews. But his ignorance of the Old Testament was too great and the Jews rejected him. This turned Mohammed against them. He still considered himself a descendant of Abraham, and Christ to have been one of the prophets. Hence the Holy Land is sacred to the Mohammedans as well as to the Jews and Christians.

The strength of Mohammedanism is its simplicity. It believes in one God, who is conceived as an oriental despot. The believer is required to accept his will, as revealed both in the Koran and in the occurrences of his daily life, with absolute submission. Hence there is a strong note of fatalism. There is a firm belief in the resurrection, when men will be judged and the followers of the Prophet will be ushered into everlasting joy, which is usually pictured in terms of sensual pleasures. It is interesting to note that, although women have no real position in Mohammedanism, being little more than slaves in this world and the next, it is practically impossible to convert Mohammedan women to another faith.

The practices of Mohammedanism are equally simple. Once Mohammed was convinced that he could not gain the support of either Jews or Christians, he was careful to differentiate his practices from theirs. Friday is the weekly holy day. A Mohammedan is called to prayer five times a day,—at daybreak, after noon, before and after sunset and at the close of the day. There is a month during which the believer must fast every day from sunrise to sunset. He must give alms and should if possible make a pilgrimage to Mecca. All prayer is made kneeling with the forehead on the ground, and facing toward Mecca. The drinking of wine is forbidden. Polygamy is permitted.

Mohammedanism proved to be just what was needed to unite the Arabian tribes religiously and politically. At first, Mohammed met opposition from the leaders of his tribe and in 622 had to flee from Mecca to Medina. Here he established himself and after a series of struggles was able to recapture Mecca. By the end of his life, he had most of the Arabian peninsula under his control.

His followers embarked on a career of conquest which met with astounding success. Damascus fell into their hands in 635, Jerusalem and Antioch in 638, Alexandria and Egypt in 641. Persia was conquered by 642. In the East they penetrated into India where there is still a strong following today. The advance toward Constantinople was checked in Asia Minor by desperate resistance on the part of the Eastern Empire, 672-678 and 717-718. In the West the Mohammedans spread across North Africa, and entered Spain in 711. They penetrated France and were finally stopped by the Franks under Charles Martel at the battle of Tours, 732. They were then pushed back out of France and very slowly out of Spain, losing their last stronghold there when Granada fell in 1492.

The reason why the Mohammedans met with so little opposition was because Christendom was divided. The Roman Empire had al-

ready lost most of the West, which was split up among warring Germanic tribes. The native population of Egypt was Monophysite and would not co-operate with either the Empire or the Catholic Church. The Monophysites in Syria and the Nestorians in Persia also would not co-operate. North Africa was divided between the Catholics, Arians and Donatists.

The Mohammedans did not force conversions. Conquered people had to choose between Mohammedanism, death, or paying a heavy tribute to the state. Naturally luke-warm Christians became Mohammedans. Christianity was wiped out in North Africa. But there remained a strong Christian minority in Spain, Catholic and Monophysite minorities in Egypt and Syria, and a Nestorian minority in Persia. The fall of Antioch and Alexandria ended the importance of those two Patriarchates. Although Jerusalem was in Mohammedan hands, Christian pilgrims were for several centuries allowed to visit the Holy Places.

2. The Last Two General Councils

Just before the Mohammedan attack on the Eastern Empire, another effort was made to reconcile the Monophysites to the Church. The Emperor Heraclius devised the formula that in Christ's human and divine natures there is but "one operation." The phrase was submitted to Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople. Sergius did not feel competent to settle the question and referred it in 634 to Pope Honorius I (?-638). The Pope in his reply agreed with Sergius that it is best to avoid the phrase "one operation," suggested avoiding "two operations" as well (that phrase is sound), and then went on to say, "we acknowledge one will of our Lord Jesus Christ."

This started the Monothelite heresy, which asserted that our Lord had no human will. The divine will took the place of the human will in his human nature. This position was theologically acceptable to the Monophysites. It was, in fact, simply a more accurate statement of their heresy. The essence of their position was not that the divine and human natures were completely mixed, but that the active part of the human nature (i.e., the will) was divine. Monothelitism therefore is wrong because it denies that Christ has a full and complete human nature distinct from his divine nature. It denies that God really became man. The Faith teaches that Christ's human nature is complete, including a human will, but that his human will always acted in perfect obedience to the divine will. "I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me."

In 638 Sergius had the Emperor declare Monothelitism to be the true faith and confirmed this by a council at Constantinople. Honorius had died before those actions took place, however. We therefore do not know whether he would have endorsed the official interpretation of his letter. Monothelitism was condemned as a heresy by the succeeding Popes.

Sergius died shortly after his council. His successor was a Monothelite, but was deposed by the Emperor for political reasons. His successor Paul, at first took the Monothelite position, but, when he could not get the Pope's approval, tried to compromise. He issued an order that none of the phrases: "one operation," "two operations," "one will," or "two wills" was to be used. Since "two operations" and "two wills" are correct statements of the Faith, Paul's compromise was not acceptable to the Pope. It remained for several years, however, the position of the Eastern Church.

By 680 the political situation in the East had changed. The strongholds of Monophysitism, Alexandria and Antioch, were by then so firmly in Mohammedan hands that there was no point in seeking a reconciliation with the Monophysites. On the other hand, the Emperor had succeeded only with the greatest difficulty in saving Constantinople from capture by the Mohammedans, 672-678. He wanted to strengthen his position by getting the support of the West. Accordingly he asked the Pope, St. Agatho (?-681), to send legates to the Sixth General Council, Constantinople III, 680-681. The legates brought with them a long dogmatic statement which condemned Monothelitism. This was accepted by the Council, which proceeded to condemn as heretics Sergius, Paul and the others involved in the controversy, including Pope Honorius. Agatho was dead when the decrees of the Council reached Rome, but his successor accepted them.

The condemnation of Pope Honorius as a heretic is embarrassing to the Roman Catholic Church, since in 1870 it declared that the Pope himself is infallible—cannot make a mistake—in matters of Faith and morals. Since Honorius' statement was in an official letter, the Roman Church cannot claim it was a mere private opinion, and they do not try to deny he was a heretic. Their defense is: 1) Honorius' statement was not fully official. 2) There is at least a doubt whether he really meant that Christ had no human will. He may have meant that Christ had no sinful human will which resisted the divine will. (Yet Honorius' refusal to endorse the phrase "two operations" makes this doubtful.) 3) Honorius' real heresy was his failure to insist on the truth that in Christ there are "two operations"—the full and distinct functioning

of his human and divine natures. In other words, according to the Roman Church, Honorius was a heretic not because he officially taught false doctrine but because he failed to declare the truth when called upon to do so.

This argument does little to save the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. That asserts that the Holy Spirit will always prevent the Pope from making a mistake in Faith or morals. Honorius' mistake in Faith produced a major heresy. Why did not the Holy Spirit prevent it? If he did not prevent it on that occasion, what proof is there that he will do so on others?

The struggle with the Mohammedans gave rise to the heresy of Iconoclasm. An Eastern Church is arranged with a wall between the chancel and the congregation. In this wall there are three doors. Only clergy are allowed inside this wall and the doors are shut at the consecration of the Eucharist. The reason for this custom is that the Eastern Church stresses the mystery of the Eucharist.

The wall is called the iconostasis because on the congregation's side of it are hung the icons or holy pictures. These are the objects of popular veneration, being used as aids to devotion as are statues of our Lord and the saints in the Western Churches. Neither icons nor statues are worshipped, of course, but they serve as reminders of Christ and the saints, and help in giving a point of focus to the worship of our Lord and to the request for the prayers of the saints. The use of icons and statues is justified. God took a material human body and uses matter as the means of conveying sacramental grace. Men may use material representations, pictures and statues, as the means through which to express their adoration of God and love of the saints.

But the Mohammedans, like the Jews, carry their belief in one God to the extent of forbidding all pictures and statues. They therefore accused the Christians of idolatry in venerating icons. The Emperor Leo III (680-740) felt the charge just and forbade the use of icons and images. He and his successors destroyed them. In 754 a council in Constantinople endorsed Iconoclasm, which is the heresy that prohibits the use of icons. The people, however, especially the monks, were devoted to the use of icons and valiantly defended them. They endured violent persecution. Along with Iconoclasm went the destruction of relics (things made sacred because of their association with the saints) and the denial of the invocation of saints (the request for the prayers of the saints).

The great defender of the use of icons was St. John of Damascus

(700-753). He was the leading theologian of the day, who did for the East what St. Gregory the Great and St. Isidore of Seville had done for the West. He collected the chief passages from the earlier Eastern theologians and arranged them in a form that made reference to them easier. As John lived in Damascus, which was in Mohammedan hands, he was out of the Emperor's reach. He was able to write treatises against Iconoclasm and to encourage the defense of the icons.

Iconoclasm was condemned at the Seventh General Council, Nicaea II, 787, at which it was declared that icons and statues may be venerated but not, of course, worshipped. Iconoclasm broke out in the East again, 814-842, when a succession of Iconoclast Emperors revived the persecution. It also broke out in the West in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century.

3. The Great Schism, 1054

Throughout the centuries the Eastern and Western Churches had been growing further and further apart. The cleavage began as early as the second century, when Latin became the theological language of the West while Greek continued to be used in the East. The difficulty of translation led again and again to misunderstanding of the terms used in theological definitions.

Along with this went a difference of emphasis both in theology and in devotion. In theology the East was intensely interested in speculative questions about the nature of God and of Christ. Subtleties of thought on these subjects fascinated the Greek mind. The West, on the other hand, was content with rough and ready formulae which stated the essential minimum of the Faith, and was more concerned with the practical question of how men are saved by Christ.

This difference of emphasis was reflected in the devotional life. In the East, the stress was placed on the glorious mystery of God and on the resurrection of Christ. The note of triumphant joy for the victory wrought by Christ dominated the Church's worship. In the West, the emphasis was on Christ's sufferings whereby he atoned for human sin. The chief purpose of devotion was to produce penitence which would permit the soul to receive the forgiveness of Christ. The tendency in the West was to define more and more exactly what was the minimum one could do and still be saved.

These differences are well illustrated by the development of the Eucharist. In the early Eucharist both the clergy and the congregation had taken an active part. Gradually over the centuries in both East and West the service was taken out of the hands of the congre-

gation and given exclusively to the clergy. But with a difference. In the East the service was kept in the language of the people, who could hear and understand. They could not see, however, because the iconostasis cut off the altar. This emphasized the note of mystery—the Risen Christ is present unseen on earth. The service remained elaborate and the dominant note was one of triumphant joy. The worshipper was permitted to join for a short time on earth in the eternal worship of heaven.

In the West the Mass, as it was by now coming to be called, was celebrated in Latin, which the congregation was unable to understand. Their chief function was to watch the service, especially to see the consecrated Host when the priest lifted it up. The emphasis was placed on the Mass as the re-offering on earth of our Lord's sacrifice on Calvary. The more often Mass was offered, the more the redemptive value of Calvary was applied to men. In addition to the Solemn Mass with its elaborate worship, the Low Mass was developed. This could be celebrated frequently—usually daily—by a priest with a congregation that need not number more than one. The custom arose of hiring priests to say a number of Masses for oneself or for others living or dead. Communions became infrequent and were prepared for by elaborate penitence. Thus in the West the Eucharist came to be considered more as a means to salvation than as an act of worship.

To these differences must be added the difference in Church organization. The Patriarch of Constantinople finally became the chief bishop of the East. But he had neither the control over other Churches, nor the prestige that was enjoyed by the Pope. Furthermore the Patriarch of Constantinople was himself controlled by the Emperor. On the other hand the Pope was supreme in the West and claimed control over both Church and state. He insisted more and more emphatically that he was the divinely appointed head of the Church in both East and West, and that his commission went right back to Peter. As such, the Pope usurped more and more of the function of bishops, judging them, giving them directives, interfering in their dioceses and finally in more recent times appointing them. He also, when he could get away with it, interfered in matters of state. In the West there were few who had sufficient historical knowledge to challenge the growing papal claims. In the East, after the fall of Alexandria and Antioch, only Constantinople was in a position to do so.

Constantinople did, and the result was increasing strain between East and West. In a period of 450 years Rome and Constantinople were out of communion with each other for a total of over 200 years

at different times. One of the more important of these preliminary breaches came when the Pope refused to accept Photius (c. 820-897) as Patriarch of Constantinople in 863. Photius retaliated by condemning the Roman Church as heretical on five counts:

1. The practice of fasting on certain Saturdays. The Eastern Church considered this an insult to the Jewish Sabbath and so to the Old Testament. It had no such significance to the West.

2. The eating of milk, cheese, eggs, etc., during Lent. The East keeps Lent as a period of abstinence not only from meat, but also from all animal products. Western abstinence is from flesh meat only. All the weekdays of Lent are days of fasting, on which one eats less than usual, but for some time now only Wednesdays and Fridays are days of abstinence as well.

3. Compulsory celibate (unmarried) clergy. In the East married men could be ordained deacons and priests, but no deacon or priest could marry after ordination, even if his first wife died. Eastern bishops, however, had to be unmarried and were usually chosen from among the monks. By the ninth century the West ordained only unmarried men and required them to vow to remain single for the rest of their lives.

4. The separation of Baptism and Confirmation. In the early Church the two Sacraments were administered together. This was possible because each local Church had a bishop and Baptism was administered only twice a year. Hence the bishop could always be present to confirm. When dioceses grew larger and the custom arose of baptizing infants shortly after birth, this was no longer possible. The East kept the two Sacraments together, but changed the minister. The priest administers Confirmation, using oil blessed by the bishop. The West kept the bishop as minister and separated the Sacraments. The bishop visits the parish periodically to confirm those already baptized.

5. The *Filioque* Clause in the Creed. The West changed the third paragraph of the Nicene Creed to read, "The Holy Ghost . . . proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*." The italicized words were an addition. The East objected, not so much to the phrase, though they would prefer "through the Son," but to the fact that the West had added it without their consent.

It will be seen that only the fifth accusation is theological, and that a small point. The other four deal with minor customs. None of this would have made a breach between East and West inevitable. There are today Uniat Churches in the East which follow Eastern customs and yet are in union with Rome because they accept the Pope.

The real difficulty was that Constantinople would not accept the increasing papal pretensions because it could remember when the Pope made no such claims. A council held by Photius agreed to accept the Pope as a court of final appeal. But it would not accept his dictation in matters on which he had not been consulted, nor his interference in other dioceses, nor his refusal to accept duly elected and consecrated bishops.

The ninth century quarrel was patched up after Photius' death in 897. But Michael Cerularius (?-1058), the Patriarch of Constantinople, revived the charges against the Pope. In 1054 the papal legates in Constantinople placed an excommunication of the Patriarch on the altar of St. Sophia. This breach has proved to be final and is known as the Great Schism.

4. The Slavonic Church

The Eastern Church made up for its losses in the south to the Mohammedans by its gains in the north. As early as the fourth century missionaries from Constantinople were penetrating the Balkans. At that time, however, Constantinople was in Arian hands and the Germanic tribes who then occupied the Balkans were converted to Arianism. We have seen how they were pushed out of the Balkans by the Slavs and finally settled in the West, where they were gradually converted to Catholicism.

The missions to the Slavs took place in the ninth century. The first Balkan tribe to be converted was the Bulgars who settled just north of Constantinople. Their king Boris was baptized in 864.

Meanwhile the Khazars sent to Constantinople for missionaries. Two brothers were sent to them, St. Cyril (827-869) and St. Methodius (826-885). They had been born in Thessalonica, had renounced worldly honors to become monks and priests. They learned the Khazar language and converted many people. When the Moravians asked for missionaries who knew Slavonic, Cyril and Methodius were the obvious ones to send. They translated the Gospels and service books into Slavonic, inventing an alphabet for the purpose. Their mission began in 863 and met with great success for four years.

The Moravians, however, lived on the fringe of the Holy Roman Empire, where the Latin Church was already established. The Latin priests objected strongly to the Eastern customs of the Moravian mission, especially to the Eucharist being celebrated in Slavonic. Therefore Cyril and Methodius decided to go to Rome. The Pope received them graciously, approved of their activity, endorsed their service

books and ordained them bishops. Cyril, however, died in Rome in 869, before he could return to Moravia.

Methodius returned and became Archbishop of Moravia. He ran into difficulty again with the Latin Church. In 870 he was deposed and imprisoned for three years by the Emperor. The Pope rescued and reinstated him. He extended his mission to the Bohemians and Poles. Persecution from the Latinists continued and, worn out by the struggle, Methodius died in 885.

The area which Methodius evangelized was absorbed by the West and Latin became the official language of his Churches. But his translations into Slavonic became the standard of the Orthodox Slav Churches.

The largest of these is the Russian Orthodox Church. We do not know when Christianity first penetrated Russia, but the first important step in establishing the Church there was the Baptism of the Empress St. Olga during a visit to Constantinople in 956. Her son remained a pagan, but his son, St. Vladimir (956-1015), was baptized in 988 and forced his people to accept Christianity. Naturally this enforced mass conversion produced little result religiously. Paganism went on almost as before and Christianity spread slowly. In 1237 the Mongols from Central Asia began to invade and capture Russia. They were pagans and for a time Christianity was repressed. But as usual the conquered conquered their conquerors, and during the fourteenth century the Mongols were converted.

The Great Schism made the breach between the Eastern and Western Church so complete that the Eastern Church figures little in Western Church History until recent times. There was little contact between the two Churches except during the Crusades, which tended more to widen the breach than to heal it. This was especially true of the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204). Instead of recapturing the Holy Land, the Venetians persuaded the crusaders to attack and capture their commercial rival, Constantinople. It is not clear whether the Pope endorsed this change of plan, but he accepted it when accomplished and set up a Latin kingdom and Church in Constantinople that lasted until 1261. The bitter resentment caused by this high-handed action has frustrated all attempts at reconciliation between Constantinople and Rome.

Two formal attempts at reconciliation have been made, at the Council of Lyons, 1274, and at the Council of Florence, 1439. The pattern in both instances was the same. The Eastern delegates were persuaded to accept an adjustment of disputed theological and prac-

tical points. But when they returned to Constantinople the agreement was indignantly rejected by the Eastern Church.

In 1453, the Turks, who were by then the rulers of the Mohammedan world, captured Constantinople and proceeded to conquer the Balkans. They continued to threaten the eastern border of the German Empire until they were finally turned back at the gates of Vienna in 1683. The Christian Church persisted in the Balkan countries and became the center of national life for the conquered people.

C. THE END OF THE DARK AGES

1. The Conversion of Northern Europe

In the West, Christianity spread first through the Roman Empire. At no point had it penetrated beyond its borders when the Empire began to collapse in the fifth century. In that century, as we shall see in the next chapter, Christianity did cross to Ireland. Scotland was converted from Ireland in the sixth century.

The Germanic invaders of the Empire were either pagans or Arians. All the energies of the Church on the continent in the sixth and seventh centuries were expended in converting the invaders to the Catholic Faith. After the Franks were converted in 496, the other tribes slowly followed suit. The Burgundians abandoned Arianism in 517. The Spanish Church became fully Catholic in 589. In the next year the Lombards, who were the dominant tribe in northern Italy, began to be converted, but the process was not complete until 660. These new converts had much to learn about Christianity and throughout the seventh and eighth centuries both Church and state were at a low ebb.

Still another drain on the Church's energies was the Mohammedan invasion which engulfed Spain and Sicily. After it was stopped at Tours in 732, the Church regained control of southern France. In northern Spain, Christian kingdoms seem to have retained some measure of independence throughout the eighth and ninth centuries. By the eleventh, they were strong enough to begin the reconquest of Spain. The Mohammedan holdings were reduced to a small area around Granada and Cadiz by the middle of the thirteenth century. In the ninth century the Mohammedans completed their capture of Sicily. The island was reconquered by the Normans in the eleventh century.

The weakness of the Church on the continent and its pre-occupation with the Mohammedans prevented it from engaging in any missionary activity before the ninth century. But the strong Anglo-Saxon Church

in England, which had inherited the missionary zeal of the Celtic Church, began the conversion of Germany toward the end of the seventh century.

The first missionary was a Northumbrian, St. Willibrord (657-739), who, with the encouragement of the Franks, went to Frisia. He was consecrated bishop by the Pope in 695 and established the diocese of Utrecht, but his mission had little success.

Far more important was the work of Winfrid (680-754) of Devonshire who, on becoming a monk, took the name by which he is usually known—St. Boniface. In 716 he went to Frisia, but he met with such hostility to the Gospel that he returned to England. Next he went to Rome, where in 719 he received from the Pope an official appointment to labor in Germany. He shifted the field of his mission to Hesse, where he made many converts. He returned to Rome in 722 and was consecrated bishop by the Pope. For ten years he labored in Hesse and Thuringia with such success that in 732 the Pope raised him to the rank of Archbishop. After visiting Rome again in 738, he extended his mission to include Bavaria.

In his work he was assisted by large numbers of men and women from England and Ireland. As Boniface was most careful to keep his Church subject to the Pope, the Irish monks who worked with him were led to see the value of this. On their return to Ireland they helped persuade the Irish Church to adopt western customs and to submit to the Pope. Boniface established monasteries as training centers for the clergy, the chief of these being Fulda founded in 744. By 748 Boniface had established the Archdiocese of Mainz and organized the Church in Hesse, Thuringia, and Bavaria. His work in Germany reacted on the Frankish Church with which he was closely associated and resulted in its reform and revival.

Toward the end of his life Boniface's thoughts returned to Frisia, where he had begun his missionary labors and where the Church was still languishing. In 754 he handed the Archdiocese of Mainz over to his successor and set out for Frisia. On arrival he and his companions were ambushed by some pagans and murdered. Thus his missionary labors were crowned with martyrdom.

The work of Boniface and his associates aided the Franks in their conquest of western Germany. This in turn consolidated the Church there and gave it state support. As Charlemagne extended his empire to include eastern Germany, he forced the inhabitants to accept Christianity. This enforced conversion would have had little permanent effect were it not for the many monks and clergy, trained in western

Germany, who settled in the east, established dioceses, parishes and monasteries, and gradually brought the people to the Faith.

During the ninth century the first efforts to convert the Scandinavian people were made. The chief figure was Ansgar (801-865), who entered Denmark in 826 and worked in Sweden 829-830. Although he is usually called the Apostle of the Scandinavian countries, his efforts left little in the way of permanent results. But during the next 150 years the Church continued its missionary labors in Denmark and toward the end of the tenth century converted the king. After a relapse to paganism under his son, the Church was permanently established by Canute, who from 1015-1035 ruled in both Denmark and England.

In Norway the Church was finally established by King Olaf I, who reigned 995-1000. Olaf brought in clergy from England to serve as missionaries. Early in the next century Christianity was carried to Iceland, Greenland and the other islands in the north Atlantic which were in the possession of the Scandinavian countries. The first Christian King of Sweden was another Olaf who was baptized in 1008. It was not until 1100, however, that the country was fully converted. Finland and Lapland were brought into the Church toward the end of the thirteenth century.

St. Stephen I, who reigned 997-1038, established both the Church and the monarchy in Hungary. The Duke of Poland accepted Christianity in 967 and in 1000 King Boleslaus I organized the Polish Church. Pomerania was converted in 1128, and the Baltic States in the next century. East Prussia was converted at the same time by the Teutonic Knights.

2. The Cluny Reforms

St. Benedict had written his *Rule* for his own monastery at Monte Cassino. Thanks to the work of St. Gregory the Great and the intrinsic merits of the *Rule* itself, it spread rapidly through Europe so that by the reign of Charlemagne it was the only *Rule* used in monasteries. Each Benedictine monastery, however, was completely independent. It regulated its own affairs and determined for itself how the *Rule* was to be kept. If its fervor declined and it fell into the hands of easy-going abbots, it could become very lax and even corrupt. At such times there was no one except the local bishop to correct its faults.

The monastic life is a good barometer to the health of the Church. In times of confusion and widespread lowering of standards, such as

the early Dark Ages, monastic standards declined. It must be remembered, however, that the monasteries were the only channel through which the culture and religion of the Christian Roman Empire were carried to the Germanic invaders. During the seventh and eighth centuries their energies were fully absorbed in laying the foundations of a new culture. If they sank to the level of their time, we must not forget they were also the means by which the time was redeemed.

On the other hand, a revival of Church life is always paced by monasteries. It was the infusion of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon monks into Europe which prepared the way for the great revival under Charlemagne. This in turn resulted in a Benedictine reform. The *Rule* of St. Benedict is so clear a statement of the fundamental principles that one has only to take it seriously in order to produce a reform. St. Benedict of Aniane (750?-821) did this when he founded his monastery in 779. He was chief religious adviser to Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious. In 817 St. Benedict of Aniane's interpretation of the Benedictine *Rule* was made obligatory on all monasteries in the Empire.

The improvement that this reform effected was speedily lost, however, in the darkness and confusion which descended once more on the Church and state for the rest of the ninth century. The next revival came from the Benedictine *Rule* itself. In 910 the Abbey of Cluny was founded. From the start it tried to follow the *Rule* faithfully and strictly. The result was a monastery which shone like a bright light in the darkness.

Other monasteries were attracted by its fervor and sought to imitate its reforms. At first they would send some of their monks to Cluny to study the life there and bring it back to their home monasteries. But under the second Abbot of Cluny, St. Odo, who ruled 927-942, a new element was introduced into Benedictine Monasticism. Cluny began to take direct supervision over other monasteries, appointing their abbots and regulating their life.

This was a major step forward. It meant that the subordinate houses had sufficient supervision to correct any lowering of standards. As long as Cluny itself was in a healthy condition the system worked well. Cluny was fortunate in having a succession of strong abbots. In the middle of the twelfth century it was a Christian center second only to Rome. Four of its monks became Popes. By the fourteenth century there were 825 monasteries which owed allegiance to Cluny. But when Cluny itself declined in the later Middle Ages, the system failed.

Another advantage of the Cluny system was the protection it gave

to the member monasteries. The problem of the monasteries in the Dark Ages was that they had to depend on the local nobles to defend them. The nobles were constantly engaged in petty wars with their neighbors. Whenever a noble was defeated, his territory, including any monasteries therein, was likely to be plundered. But if the monastery was a dependency of Cluny, that large international organization could put sufficient pressure on local nobles to keep them in order.

As Cluny grew in power, it tried to reform not only the Religious Life, but the Church as a whole. It sought to develop piety among the lay people, and to raise the standards of the parish clergy who ministered to them. The two vices of the clergy which it particularly tried to correct were simony (the buying of Church offices) and the failure of the clergy to keep their vows of celibacy.

Cluny saw that there was a direct connection between these two vices. Although in most cases the clergy did not actually marry, the majority of them had, for all practical purposes, wives and families. In order to meet their expenses, the clergy would seek jobs that paid well. All appointments to parishes were in the hands of patrons, either the local noble or some Church official. Applicants for an opening would often offer the patron either a flat sum or a cut on the income of the parish, in exchange for getting the appointment. This, of course, led to the worst sort of men getting the offices of the Church from the lowest parish up to the bishops, archbishops and even the Pope himself.

Still another aim of Cluny was to integrate the bishops into the feudal system. Only if the bishops themselves were nobles with the right to maintain an army could they protect themselves and their dioceses against the warring nobles.

The Emperor and other kings who were beginning to establish themselves in the latter part of the Dark Ages were inclined to favor the idea of using bishops as state officials. The appointment of bishops was in their hands, so that they could assure that men loyal to them held these offices. The celibacy of the clergy was maintained as a legal fiction. This meant that bishops, unlike secular nobles, could not increase their holdings by marrying the heiress of another territory. The sons of bishops, being legally illegitimate, could not inherit their father's estates. Thus the territories controlled by bishops could not become the nucleus of a rival dynasty that might overthrow the king.

Gradually the bishops became more and more important figures in the state. They were the "lords spiritual." As such certain of the bishops in England are members of the House of Lords today. Since

few but the clergy knew how to read and write, they were used more and more as advisers and ministers to the king. This enabled them to protect the interests of the Church. But it had the disadvantage of keeping the bishops out of their dioceses, occupying them in warfare and politics, and turning them into masters of intrigue and flattery.

3. Investiture

In its efforts to improve the caliber of the clergy, Cluny found an ally in the Emperor Henry III, who reigned 1039-1056. He kept the appointment of bishops in his hands, but he refused to accept bribes and appointed men of high character who were zealous for reform.

In 1046, Henry III had to rescue the Papacy. Two years previously there were two rival claimants to the Papacy in Rome. One of them, Benedict IX, sold the Papacy to John Gratian, a priest of Rome, who took the name Gregory VI. He was a devout man and a sincere reformer. He probably bought the Papacy with the best intentions, as the only way to eliminate an unworthy Pope. But the fact remained that he bought it. This caused a scandal. Benedict IX proceeded to go back on his agreement and refused to give up the Papacy. The result was three Popes. At this point the Emperor intervened. He forced Gregory VI to resign and banished him to Germany. He had the other two Popes deposed and his own candidate elected.

Henry's candidate was a good man and an advocate of reform. For the moment it was to the advantage of the Church that Henry had rescued the Papacy. But it also gave Henry complete control over the Church. He personally appointed the next three Popes.

The most important of these was St. Leo IX, who was Pope 1049-1054. He was a thorough-going reformer. He reorganized the College of Cardinals, appointing to it outstanding men from all over Europe, instead of restricting its membership to the clergy of the city of Rome. This gave the Pope a group of ardent and able advisers. He held councils at which simony and priestly marriages were vehemently condemned. He traveled about Europe strengthening the position of the Papacy. It was during his pontificate that the Great Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches occurred.

Cluny had succeeded to some extent in protecting the bishops by integrating them into the feudal system. With the help of the Emperor it had secured the appointment of better men to the episcopate and Papacy. But this gave rise to a new problem. Was the state to be allowed to control the Church?

The feudal system rested on personal loyalty. The lower nobles

held their lands in fief from some higher noble to whom they owed allegiance. This allegiance was an oath which promised faithfully to perform certain services for the overlord, including the provision of soldiers and supplies. The overlords took their oaths of allegiance to still higher nobles and at the top of the hierarchy was the Emperor, or, outside the Empire, the king. A ruler could keep in power only if a sufficient number of his fiefs remained loyal to him. If enough shifted their allegiance to a powerful rival, the latter would be able to seize the throne.

As the bishops became important figures in the state, they also were required to take oaths of allegiance to their overlords. In order to assure their loyalty, the rulers not only appointed the bishops; they insisted that a bishop take his oath of allegiance before he took office. This gave rise to the practice of lay investiture. A newly-appointed bishop was required to kneel and swear loyalty to his overlord. Thereupon he received from the overlord the symbols of his office.

The symbols of a bishop's office were of two kinds. There were the pastoral staff and ring, the symbols of his rule over the diocese. There was also a scepter or some other symbol of his political power. At first the state gave both. This put the bishop completely under the control of the state. He had, of course, to be consecrated by other bishops. But he could not function as a bishop, in ruling either his diocese or his domains, until he had been authorized by the state.

Cluny soon saw that lay investiture put the Church at a hopeless disadvantage. In the latter part of the tenth century it began to attack the custom. It demanded that the bishop be given the symbols of his office by the Church. The state refused and the battle was on. An obvious compromise was for the Church to give the ring and pastoral staff and the state the scepter. But then the question arose, which came first. If the Church gave its symbols first, a man could become bishop without the consent of the state. If the state had the right to act first, a man could not become bishop without the approval of his overlord and the state was still in complete control.

The leader in the Church's struggle against lay investiture was Hildebrand (St. Gregory VII, 1023-1085). He was the son of poor Italian parents. At an early age he entered a monastery in Rome where the Cluny reform prevailed. Later he entered the service of John Gratian and when the latter became Pope Gregory VI, Hildebrand became his chaplain. Hildebrand accompanied Gregory VI into exile to Germany in 1046, and after the deposed Pope died the next year, Hildebrand may have retired to Cluny for a year.

Hildebrand returned to Rome with Pope Leo IX in 1049. He was made a Cardinal and placed in charge of the papal estates. These he managed wisely and greatly increased the papal income. The Pope used him as a legate on several important missions. By the time Leo IX died in 1054, Hildebrand was the leader of the Cluny reform movement among the Cardinals. He himself refused the Papacy, but with consummate political skill he secured the election and recognition of a series of Popes who were favorable to reform. These Popes began the attack against lay investiture.

In 1073, at the funeral of the preceding Pope, the crowd seized Hildebrand and forcibly placed him on the papal throne. He acquiesced and took the name Gregory VII, thus showing his loyalty to his original patron, Gregory VI, and asserting that the latter had been a true Pope.

In 1065, Henry IV, who had succeeded his father as Emperor when he was but a boy, had come of age. He was a strong ruler and had no intention to give up lay investiture. When Hildebrand became Pope, Henry IV was in trouble with some of his nobles and had to accept Hildebrand. By 1075, Henry IV had full control of Germany. He and Hildebrand soon were in conflict and Hildebrand excommunicated Henry. This aroused the disaffected nobles in Germany, and when Hildebrand deposed Henry and set out to hold an assembly in Germany to choose a new Emperor, Henry saw he was in danger of losing his throne. Henry therefore met Hildebrand at Canossa. According to the Pope's account, Henry did penance by calling on him on three successive days standing barefoot in the snow. The Pope had to absolve him and thus Henry kept his throne.

Henry and the Pope were soon quarreling again. Henry captured Rome in 1084, placed an anti-pope on the throne and shut Hildebrand up in the castle of San Angelo. With the help of the Normans, Hildebrand drove Henry out of Rome. But the Normans plundered the city so ruthlessly that Hildebrand had to leave Rome with them. He died in exile in 1085.

The struggle continued after his death and ended in a compromise. The Church gave the pastoral staff and ring; the state the symbols of temporal power after the oath of allegiance had been taken. Except in Germany, the Church won the right to give its symbols first. This was first worked out in practice by St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and King Henry I of England in 1107. The Pope and the Emperor reached an agreement in the Concordat of Worms, 1122. In Germany the Emperor was allowed to give the temporal insignia

first. This meant that in Germany the bishops were more under state control, and was a factor in the success of the Reformation in that country.

4. The Crusades

Although Jerusalem was captured by the Mohammedans in 638, Christian pilgrims were allowed to visit the Holy Places as long as the Arabs were in control. During the eleventh century, however, a new power arose in Mohammedanism. The Turks, who came from central Asia, were converted to that religion. They swarmed down into western Asia and became the rulers of the Moslem world.

In 1071, the Turks conquered Palestine. They forbade Christian pilgrimages and desecrated the Holy Places. Some pilgrims who tried to visit them were subjected to torture and death.

The Turks also revived the fighting spirit of Mohammedanism. Beginning 1071 they conquered Asia Minor and in 1080 established themselves in Nicaea, less than 100 miles from Constantinople. The Eastern Emperor saw that he would need help in defending his capital and called on the West for it.

These two factors were the immediate cause of the Crusades. There were, of course, other contributing causes. Europe had long been the victim of economic misery and political unrest. This made men desire to escape local problems by an exciting adventure. The hard times had also produced a deeper longing for things spiritual, and the rewards promised to those who participated in the Crusades were attractive.

It is hard for us today to judge the Crusades fairly. Modern warfare has become so horrible that the Christian conscience has been aroused against it. Except when absolutely necessary in defense of justice, we condemn war as wrong. How then could the Church ever have called on men to attack and slaughter another people, even granting they were Mohammedans? Was not the Church's duty to convert them, rather than conquer and kill them?

We must recapture the attitude of the eleventh century if we would understand the Crusades. Fighting was then in the hands of a special class—the knights. It was considered the highest profession. Although there were more injuries and deaths in medieval warfare than there are in modern athletics, the two were more like each other than medieval warfare is like modern.

Perhaps the Church was wrong in considering the Turks' attack on the Holy Places and the Christian Empire in the East a sufficient cause for calling the West to attack by the West on them. But by calling men to fight for

Christianity, the Church took the first step in bringing warfare into relation with Christian morality. If men were going to fight in any case, it was better for them to fight for Christ than to fight for more selfish reasons. Those who went on Crusades ceased battling with their neighbors and united with each other in an attack on the enemies of the Church.

Higher moral standards were demanded of soldiers of Christ. Warfare and morality were brought into contact. Is it too much to claim that this was the first step—and the necessary first step—of the process which has resulted in modern condemnation of war?

The First Crusade was proclaimed by Pope Urban II in 1095. It was preached by Peter the Hermit and other monks who wandered from village to village. They stirred men's hearts by exaggerated accounts of the sufferings of pilgrims and the desecration of the Holy Places and appealed to their love of adventure and hope for heavenly reward. Their success was staggering. Thousands of peasants set out at once to conquer the Holy Land. They were a rabble, not an army—without arms, provisions or discipline. Their journey through Germany and Hungary was so marked by plunder that the local populace rose up and slew many of them. When the remainder reached Constantinople they created a problem for the Eastern Emperor. He solved it by shipping them over to Asia Minor. They were no match for the well-armed Turks and were slaughtered late in 1096.

Many of the knights and nobles responded to the call for the Crusade. It took them longer to wind up their affairs and it was not until the spring of 1097 that they assembled in Constantinople. The chief leader was Godfrey of Bouillon. In the summer of 1097 they crossed Asia Minor. Antioch fell to them in 1098 and Jerusalem was captured in 1099. A Latin feudal kingdom was set up. Godfrey died in 1100 and his brother became the king—Baldwin I.

The chief support of this kingdom came from the Military Orders. These were knights who took the usual monastic vows but pledged themselves to the defense of the Holy Land. The two most important were the Templars and the Hospitallers. A third and later order was the Teutonic Knights, who did little in Palestine but who were responsible for the conversion of East Prussia in the thirteenth century.

In 1144 the Turks began to revive and captured Edessa, the northeastern outpost of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. St. Bernard of Clairvaux preached the Second Crusade in 1146. After elaborate preparations it set out in 1147, suffered great losses in Asia Minor and a crushing defeat at Damascus in 1148.

Because of divisions among the Turks the Kingdom of Jerusalem was able to hold on a few years longer. But in 1171 Saladin rose to power in Egypt and brought the northern Turks under his control in 1183. By 1187 he reconquered most of the Holy Land. This precipitated the Third Crusade (1189-1192) led by the Emperor, King Philip Augustus of France and King Richard I of England. The Emperor was drowned enroute to the Holy Land. Philip quarreled with Richard and returned home. Richard captured Acre, but failed to take Jerusalem.

After this the Crusades began to peter out. The Fourth Crusade (1202-1204), as we have noted,¹ captured Constantinople instead of Jerusalem. The only subsequent Crusade that accomplished anything was the Sixth (1228-1229) under Emperor Frederick II (who was excommunicated at the time). It secured by treaty the chief cities of the Holy Land, which were held until 1244. In 1291 the last of the Christian holdings in the East were lost. The Crusade movement was reduced to a few weak and sporadic efforts against the Turks or diverted to attacks on heretics in Europe. The Holy Land remained in Turkish hands until World War I.

The Crusades failed of their main objective and they were costly in loss of life and equipment. Yet they were not without their benefits. For the first time since the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the West came into contact with the East. The Crusaders brought back with them eastern luxuries which stimulated the desire for these things and established trade routes that in the thirteenth century reached as far as China. Eastern theology and learning was also brought into the West and produced the great intellectual revival of the Middle Ages.

See Review Outline IV. The General Councils.

V. The Major Heresies.

VI. The Dark Ages.

See also Chart X. The Pendulum of Heresy, p. 111.

¹ See p. 133.

CHAPTER VI

The Church in the British Isles

A. THE BRITISH CHURCH

CHRISTIANITY probably reached Britain, which was part of the Roman Empire, sometime during the second century. We know nothing about how it got there. The legend that St. Joseph of Arimathea, the man who buried our Lord, carried the Gospel to Glastonbury has no sufficient historical evidence. Attempts to prove that St. Paul visited England after his first Roman imprisonment have also failed. Probably Christianity was carried into Britain by Christians who as traders or minor officials visited the country.

We hear of one martyr in the Diocletian persecution, St. Alban (?-304). He was a pagan who let a priest take refuge in his house. Alban was converted, and when the officials came, disguised himself in the priest's cloak and gave himself up in his stead. Alban was scourged and beheaded.

The British Church was clearly weak and poor in Roman times. But it was organized into at least three dioceses. Three British bishops—those of London, York and probably Lincoln—attended the Council of Arles in 314. At the beginning of the fifth century the Church began to show more signs of life, sending missionaries to Scotland and Ireland. Of the latter we shall speak presently.

This revival was cut short by the invasion of the Germanic tribes, the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes, which began in 449. For over a century they pushed their way slowly across the country driving the British before them into Wales and Cornwall.

The Church receded with the native population, and what is now England, except for the southwest corner, became a stronghold of paganism. Christianity held on in Wales and Cornwall, but the British so resented the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons that they made no effort to convert them. The British Church was cut off from the main stream of Christianity and became ingrown. It was to a certain extent re-fertilized by the Irish Church, and produced a large number of local saints, chiefly hermits, famous for the whimsical though improbable miracles which are attributed to them. The British Church's most valuable gift to posterity was a cycle of the legends connected with King Arthur and the Holy Grail.

The fifth century revival did, however, produce one illustrious son, St. Patrick (389-461). Patrick was the son of Christian parents; his father may have been a deacon or priest. Patrick was poorly educated and always wrote barbarous Latin.

His family lived somewhere along the west coast of England. By the end of the fourth century, the Roman Empire was forced to withdraw its legions from Britain in order to protect itself nearer home. This left Britain the prey to the Irish and Scots who plundered its coast. On one such raid Patrick's father and mother were killed and he himself was taken to Ireland as a slave.

There he worked for six years. The sufferings he endured forced him to turn more and more to religion for strength and consolation. He became an earnest Christian. At the end of six years Patrick escaped and found a ship that took him to the north coast of France. He proceeded down to the monastery of Lerins on an island off the south coast of France. He entered this monastery but after a few years decided to return to Britain.

When Patrick got home, he became convinced that it was God's will for him to return to Ireland in order to convert the people to Christianity. He went back to France and spent fourteen years at Auxerre in preparation for his mission.

Patrick was not the Church's first choice as a missionary to Ireland. In 431 the Pope consecrated Palladius bishop and sent him to the Irish. His mission was a failure within a year. Whether Palladius died or got discouraged and went elsewhere is not clear. But in 432 Patrick was consecrated by bishops in France and sent to Ireland to replace Palladius.

The events of Patrick's career in Ireland have been so hidden beneath a mass of legends which the fertile Irish imagination has conjured up that they are no longer discernible. But there is no question

that Patrick converted the people in an incredibly short time. When he died in 461 the whole country was Christian and the Church fully supplied with bishops, clergy and monks.

Patrick undoubtedly introduced normal Western Christianity into Ireland. He had learned all he knew about the Church in France, where the Church was divided into dioceses and where monasteries were of the usual pre-Benedictine type. Presumably Patrick organized his Church and monasteries along the same lines. He visited Pope St. Leo I in 441 and there is no evidence that the Pope considered anything in Irish Christianity to be strange. Patrick clearly intended the Irish Church to be simply an extension of Western Christendom.

Yet Celtic Christianity, which originated in Ireland, turned out to be quite different from that on the Continent because of two factors:

1. In the latter half of the fifth century, just after Christianity had been planted in Ireland, the Roman Empire crumbled before the onslaughts of the Germanic invaders. These pagan tribes cut off all communication not only between Ireland and Rome, but also between Ireland and France. The Irish Church was left in complete isolation. This meant that there was no outside group to criticize and check any eccentricities that might develop in the Irish Church, and changes that took place elsewhere in the Church were unknown in Ireland. For instance, the Roman method of determining Easter was improved while Ireland was in isolation. The Church there knew nothing of it. So when the two Churches came into contact again they found themselves celebrating Easter on different days.

2. Ireland had been converted so rapidly that pagan practices had not died out when the Irish Church was isolated. Many pagan customs crept into Christianity. Patrick himself had taken over some pagan material. The hymn attributed to him (No. 208 in *The Hymnal*, 1940) is a pagan charm turned into a Christian creed. After Patrick's death far more important customs of pre-Christian times were revived. They changed the whole structure of the Church, as we shall see in the next section. Minor customs also persisted. An example is the tonsure of monks. Western monks shaved the crown of their heads. Priests of the old pagan religion in Ireland also had a tonsure. They shaved the hair off the front half of the head. This became the Irish tonsure for Christian monks.

B. THE CELTIC CHURCH

The two most important results of the revival of the pre-Christian Irish culture were:

1. Ireland was organized by tribes. This form of organization persisted in the Church. Each tribe was a separate diocese and the hereditary tribal leaders were the rulers of the Church. In the rest of Christendom the diocese had definite geographical boundaries and the Church ministered to all the inhabitants thereof. In Ireland dioceses expanded or contracted according to the fortunes of the tribe and ministered only to the members of the tribe and their dependents.

2. Monasticism was exceptionally strong in the Irish Church. Monasteries also were organized along tribal lines and the abbot of the Monastery was the chief religious ruler of the tribe. Bishops did not ordinarily exercise any executive functions. The bishop was usually just one of the monks who had been consecrated to administer the episcopal Sacraments. But he was subject to the abbot who managed the affairs of the Church.

The tribal organization of both dioceses and monasteries involved the whole Church in the tribal wars which were the popular Irish pastime. Sometimes these wars were fought in pitched battles. Sometimes they took the form of ascetic competition. Once a tribal monastery was besieged by the monks from another, who bragged that they could out-fast them. After both groups had fasted several days the besieged decided to bring things to a head. They ostentatiously had a meal served on the ramparts of their monastery and sat down to it. The besiegers believing they had won proceeded to break their fast. Then the besieged revealed to them that they had not actually eaten their meal, but only had gone through the motions.

The Celtic Church made three great contributions to Christianity:

1. It served as a refuge for scholars who fled from the confusion of the Continent bringing their manuscripts with them. These were treasured and copied by the Celtic monks and adorned with beautiful drawings and illuminations. They were diligently studied and in the sixth to eighth centuries the Celtic Churches were the chief center of learning in the West. We have seen that when Charlemagne sought to revive learning in his domains his leading scholar was Alcuin, who had been trained in the Celtic tradition.

2. It developed the modern form of the Sacrament of Penance. In the early Church the Sacrament demanded a public confession in the presence of the bishop and congregation and a long, arduous penance. It was so harsh that people sought to avoid it as far as possible and even deferred Baptism until their deathbeds so that there would be no sins after Baptism which would require the use of Penance.

In Celtic monasteries the practice developed of the monks confessing

their faults privately to the abbot and receiving a small penance and absolution from him. People who were not monks began to demand that this privilege be extended to them. Out of it developed the modern practice of private confession to a priest. This makes it possible to use the Sacrament frequently for minor as well as major sins. The soul is thereby cleansed at regular intervals from the stain of sin and receives the strength with which to battle more successfully against temptation.

3. The Celtic Church was ardently missionary. One of the great ideals of a monk was to die in a foreign land whither he had gone to preach the Gospel. Celtic missionaries not only converted Scotland and revitalized the British Church. They crossed to the continent, established monasteries in France, Switzerland and even Italy, and laid the foundations for the conversion of Germany.

Celtic Christianity is well illustrated in the career of St. Columba (521-597). He was brought up in the Celtic monastic tradition, ordained deacon and priest, returned to Ulster, the land of his kindred, and founded several important monasteries there. The tradition is that he caused his clan to engage in a battle with a neighboring tribe. Columba wanted to make a copy of a Psalter which was owned by another monastery. When he could not get permission, he copied it secretly. This was later discovered and the owner of the manuscript demanded the copy. The case was referred to King Diarmait, who decided against Columba on the grounds that "to every cow belongs her calf; to every manuscript belongs its copy." Columba was so incensed at the verdict that he incited his clan to attack King Diarmait. In the ensuing battle, Diarmait was defeated with the loss of three thousand men. Columba repented of having caused the battle and his confessor assigned him as his penance that he win as many souls to Christ as had been killed in the battle.

Whether or not this was the reason, Columba set out for Scotland in 563 with twelve companions. They landed on the island of Iona, off the west coast. Here they established a monastery which was to be the cradle of Scottish Christianity. Other missionaries had visited Scotland before him or were at work there in his time. But it was Columba who effected the conversion of the northern tribes and consolidated the work elsewhere. Columba also did much to establish the Scottish kingdom. Iona was the mother monastery of Scotland. Columba lived there when not engaged in his missionary journeys. In 597 he died at his monastery, falling dead before the altar as he was on his way to the midnight service.

C. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH

1. The Conversion of England

St. Gregory the Great saw some slaves in the Roman market who were from England. He was much attracted by them and, when he learned they were pagans, in addition to making some Latin puns, he determined to see that the Gospel was preached to them. After he became Pope he remembered this episode and in 596 sent St. Augustine of Canterbury (?-604?) with other monks from his monastery in Rome to England. As the party journeyed through France they heard such fearsome tales of the Anglo-Saxons that Augustine returned to Rome to ask Gregory's permission to abandon the project. But the Pope urged him on and he landed in Kent in 597.

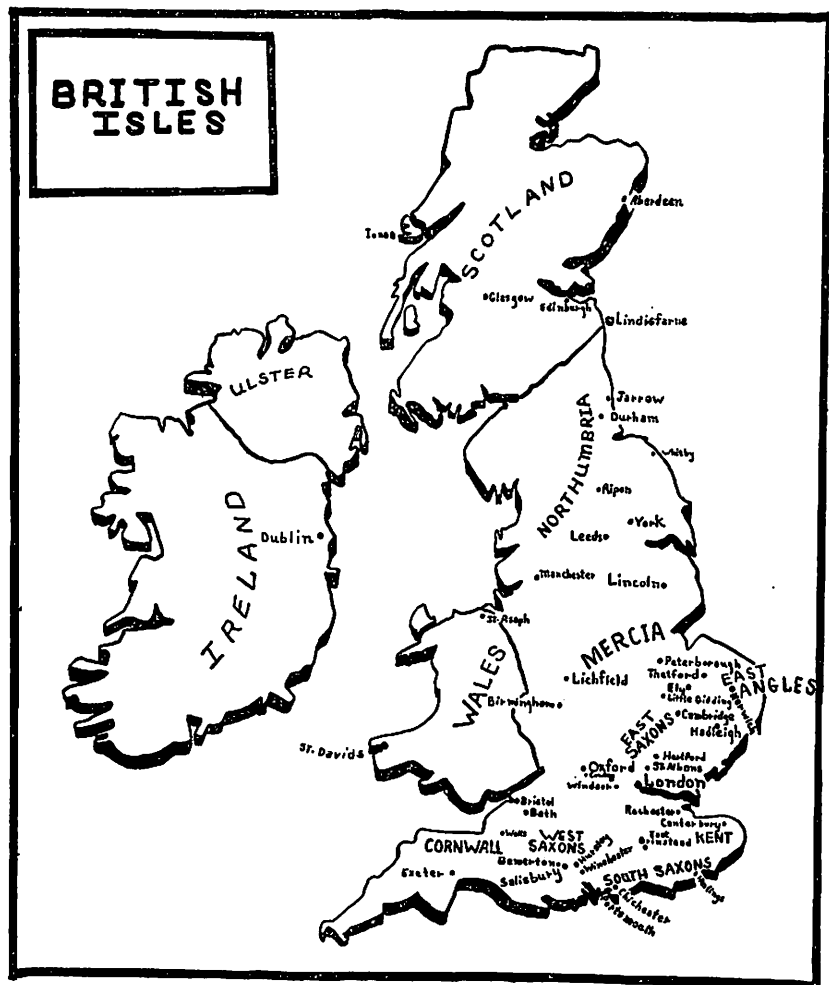
Actually the ground had been prepared for the mission. Ethelbert, King of Kent, had married Bertha, the daughter of a Frankish king. Bertha was a Christian and had been allowed to practise her religion. She had taken a bishop with her to England as her chaplain. When Augustine arrived, Ethelbert received him graciously and gave him land in Canterbury for a monastery. Before the year was out Ethelbert and his knights had been baptized and Augustine had returned to France to be consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Augustine was commissioned by the Pope to govern the whole Church in southern England and Wales, but when he met with the Welsh bishops in 603, they refused to accept his authority.

The mission in Kent prospered. Just before his death in 604 Augustine was able to establish a second diocese at Rochester, and to open a mission to the East Saxons by sending a bishop to London.

In 616 the Church fell on evil times. The bishop was driven out of London. Ethelbert died and for a time his son reverted to paganism. This almost ended the Kent mission. But at the last moment the king repented and returned to Christianity. The Church survived and became firmly entrenched.

In 631 a Burgundian monk converted East Anglia to Christianity. Pope Honorius sent a bishop to the West Saxons in 635, who effected their conversion. The diocese of London was re-established in 654. Thus in the south of England a Church that derived from Rome was planted.

The Roman mission had also reached out to the north of England in 625. The occasion was very similar to the introduction of Christianity into Kent. St. Edwin, King of Northumbria, asked to marry Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert. Her brother, then King of



Kent, would consent only if she were allowed to remain a Christian. Edwin agreed and himself asked to be instructed in the Faith. For this purpose St. Paulinus (?-644) was consecrated a bishop and with a deacon accompanied the princess to Northumbria. Paulinus began to preach the Gospel and at Easter 627, having secured the approval of his nobles, Edwin and many of them were baptized.

In 633, however, Penda, the pagan King of Mercia, with the help of the British Christians in Wales, attacked Northumbria, killed Edwin and plundered the country. Paulinus fled with Queen Ethelburga to Kent. He ended his days as Bishop of Rochester. The Church in

Northumbria, left in the charge of a single deacon, speedily collapsed.

After Edwin's death, the heirs to the Northumbrian throne were two brothers, St. Oswald (605-642) and Oswin, who had been brought up as Christians in the Scottish monastery of Iona. In 634 Oswald defeated Penda in a battle and became King of Northumbria. He set about at once to restore the Church and turned to the Celtic monastery of Iona for help. The first monk sent as a missionary failed to gain the confidence of the people. He returned to Iona reporting the project as hopeless. But St. Aidan (?-651) offered to try again, was consecrated bishop and set out in 635. He established a monastery at Lindisfarne and with the help of St. Oswald speedily converted the country.

But again the tide turned. In 642 Penda invaded Northumbria and Oswald was killed in battle. His brother Oswin succeeded to the throne, however, and Christianity continued to flourish. Penda's son was converted in 653, and when he succeeded to the throne two years later, Mercia was brought into the Church.

The year 660 saw three distinct centers of Christianity in England. In Wales and Cornwall was the remnant of the old British Church. Its form of Christianity was closer to the Celtic type, but the hatred of the British for the Anglo-Saxons was intense. They would have no dealings with the English Church. In Northumbria and Mercia was the Celtic Church which was derived from Scotland. It had most of the peculiarities of that form of Christianity. Finally in southern England the normal Western Christianity was established.

England, then, was the meeting-place of these three strands of Christianity. They could not long remain independent of each other. They had to unite. The great question was—in the union, which of the two chief types, Celtic or Roman, would prevail. Fortunately in the event it was the Roman use that dominated the union.

The Celtic Church had certain great strengths. It produced individual saints with a high degree of personal zeal and holiness. They were devout monks living the Religious Life with unexcelled enthusiasm. They were ardent missionaries, pushing fearlessly into heathen lands, traveling incessantly about the rugged countryside preaching the Gospel. No Church which has produced men like Columba and Aidan, and others of the same stamp too numerous to mention, need make any apologies for itself.

Yet it had its weaknesses. It lacked a stable form of Church organization. It was a tribal, not a settled religion. While this gave it mobility, which was a missionary asset, it lacked discipline. Further-

more its isolation from the rest of the Church cut it off from the main streams of Christianity. Had it remained in isolation, it would have turned into an eccentric sect which eventually would have dried up. All its valuable contributions to Christianity would have been lost. Instead it was able to share them with the whole Church because the Northumbrian Church abandoned its peculiarities and conformed to the normal Western use.

2. The Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church

The person chiefly responsible for uniting the two forms of Christianity in England was St. Wilfrid (634-709). He entered the Monastery of Lindisfarne in about 648 and was able to study under St. Aidan for three years before the latter's death in 651. In 653 Wilfrid made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he was completely converted to the customs of the Western use and to the necessity for integration with the Church on the continent.

Wilfrid returned to Northumbria and organized the Monastery of Ripon on Western lines in 661. For the next three years the conflict between the two forms of Christianity was very bitter. Colman, the Bishop of Lindisfarne, upheld the Celtic use and had the support of the king. But the queen, her son, the deacon St. Paulinus had left behind him and Wilfrid defended the Roman customs. Finally Wilfrid and his party converted the king. The latter, however, decided to call a conference at Whitby in 664 to settle the question officially. It is interesting to note that Wilfrid won his arguments for the Roman use by appealing to the papal claims that Peter was appointed by Christ to be the head of the Church and that the Popes were his successors. This shows how unquestioningly the papal claims were accepted by the Germanic converts to Christianity.

Colman and the other monks who had come from Iona did not feel they could conscientiously accept the decision of Whitby to follow the Western use. They therefore withdrew to Scotland. In 665 Wilfrid was elected bishop. He decided to center his diocese in York, which Pope St. Gregory had appointed as the seat of the northern archdiocese and where St. Paulinus had established himself. Wilfrid did not want to be consecrated by any of the English bishops. He sailed to France and spent so long visiting there that the Northumbrians grew tired of waiting. They therefore elected St. Chad to take Wilfrid's place. Chad went to the West Saxons where he was consecrated. He was already in possession of the diocese when Wilfrid reached York in 667.

The latter made no attempt to press his prior claims. He retired quietly to his monastery at Ripon.

Wilfrid and the conference at Whitby had accomplished the first half of what needed to be done for the Anglo-Saxon Church. The normal use of the Western Church had been universally accepted. But there now remained the task of organizing the system of dioceses for the English Church. This was the work of St. Theodore of Tarsus (602-690).

Theodore was born in Tarsus of Asia Minor, the birthplace of St. Paul. He became a monk and settled in Rome. In 667 the Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, who had gone to Rome for consecration, died there. The Pope chose Theodore to take his place, consecrating him the following year. It was a strange choice since Theodore was 66 years old; yet he lived to be Archbishop of Canterbury for over twenty years.

When Theodore arrived in England in 669, he began at once to visit all the dioceses. He consecrated bishops for those that were vacant. When he reached York, he decided that Wilfrid was the rightful bishop. Chad acquiesced and retired to his monastery. But when the Mercians asked for a bishop, Theodore sent Chad to them, who founded the diocese of Lichfield. Meanwhile, Wilfrid threw himself into the organization of parishes and missions throughout the diocese of York, holding Ordinations and Confirmations, building churches and instructing the people.

In 673 Theodore called the council of Hertford, at which all English bishops were present. Diocesan lines were carefully determined and the first canon law of the English Church was drawn up.

Theodore next decided that the English dioceses were too large and proceeded to divide them. All went well until 678, when Theodore determined to divide the large diocese of York into four dioceses. He feared that Wilfrid would not consent, so he went ahead and consecrated the three other bishops without consulting Wilfrid at all. Naturally Wilfrid was furious. He appealed to Pope St. Agatho and set off for Rome. The Pope received him graciously and decided the case in his favor. But when Wilfrid returned to Northumbria in 680 neither Theodore nor the king would accept the Pope's verdict. Wilfrid was first imprisoned and then banished. He went to the South Saxons who were the only tribe as yet unchristianized. After six years of heroic labor he brought them into the Church.

In 686 Wilfrid and Theodore were reconciled. The appeal to the Pope and the Pope's verdict seem to have been ignored by both sides.

Wilfrid was temporarily given charge of almost his whole original diocese, but within a year bishops were consecrated for parts of it. To this Wilfrid raised no objection until, after the death of Theodore in 690, it was determined to make Ripon a separate diocese. This angered Wilfrid, since Ripon was the seat of his monastery. He refused and was again banished. Once more he appealed to the Pope and was upheld by him. In 706 Wilfrid regained most of the bishopric he had ruled before his second banishment. Three years later he died.

At Wilfrid's death the diocese of York was divided along the lines Theodore had worked out. All these bishops as well as the others in England looked to Canterbury as their Archbishop. But in 734 the question of the large diocese of York was again revived. This time it was settled by making York an archdiocese with supervision over the dioceses which had been formed out of it. That has proved to be the final arrangement. The Archbishop of Canterbury has direct supervision over the bishops of southern and middle England, and primacy over the Archbishop of York. The latter directly supervises the smaller number of northern dioceses. Each archdiocese has its own Convocation—legislative assembly for Church affairs.

The Northumbrian Church reached its high-water mark in the opening years of the eighth century. Its monasteries were flourishing centers of learning and piety. The leading scholar of the period was St. Bede (673-735), generally known as the Venerable Bede. He entered the Monastery of Jarrow as a boy and devoted himself to study. His chief work was *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, which ranks him among the foremost of the Church historians and gives us most of the information that we have about the founding of the English Church. He also translated parts of the Bible into Anglo-Saxon. He was engaged in dictating the Gospel of St. John when his last illness came upon him. His strength began to fail as he started the last chapter. Rallying he dictated more rapidly. With but one sentence to go his strength failed. He roused himself with supreme effort and translated it. "It is finished now," said the scribe. "Yes, all is finished now," replied the saint and, uttering the *Gloria Patri*, expired.

The latter part of the eighth century saw the gradual decline of the Northumbrian Church. In the ninth century came the end. The Norsemen from Norway and Denmark began to plunder the English coast. This was followed by an invasion which occupied the northern and eastern parts of the island and almost wiped out altogether the Anglo-Saxon kingdom which then centered in Wessex.

3. The Decline of the Anglo-Saxon Church

The Anglo-Saxons were rallied for one final and glorious stand by King Alfred (845-900). He ascended the throne of Wessex in 871 and proved to be a model Christian king. During the first eight years of his reign he succeeded in checking the advance of the Danes and in making peace with them which gave him a respite for most of his reign. The Danish king accepted Christianity.

Having made his kingdom secure, Alfred directed his energies toward the revival of both state and Church. He gathered and promulgated a code of laws. Scholars were drawn to his Court and the king himself translated many works into Anglo-Saxon. Among these were Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, which had been written originally in Latin and St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. Suitable men were consecrated bishops. Schools sprang up in the various dioceses and in the Court itself. The result was the second great period of Anglo-Saxon culture. It did not attain the heights of originality and scholarship which had characterized the Northumbrian period, but it was a genuine revival.

Politically the Kingdom of Wessex continued to gain at the expense of the Danes after Alfred's death, until in 937 his grandson ruled all England. The reform of the Church, particularly of the clergy and monasteries, continued in the second half of the tenth century. The leader in this was St. Dunstan (925-988). He went to school in the monastery of Glastonbury. After a short court career he became a monk near Winchester. In 940 the king made him Abbot of Glastonbury. His first care was to revive that monastery by introducing the *Benedictine Rule*, establishing discipline, and founding a school of higher learning.

Dunstan was the chief power in the English state until 979. He became successively Bishop of Worcester, then of London and finally in 960 Archbishop of Canterbury. He continued to be the champion of the *Benedictine Rule*, founding new monasteries where it was followed and encouraging the old ones to adopt it. He sought to restore the celibacy of the clergy, but he moved slowly and did not absolutely outlaw clerical marriage. Dunstan spent his last nine years in retirement at Canterbury, in prayer, study, the improvement of Church music and the ruling of his diocese.

Immediately after his death in 988 the Danes again invaded England. They met with surprisingly little resistance. By 1017 Canute was King of England as well as of Denmark. But by this time the Church in England was so strongly entrenched that it survived the

conquest of the Danes and converted them to Christianity. Canute continued the policy of Dunstan, treating Danes and English with equal justice, encouraging Benedictine monasticism and Church reform. He was very devout and made a pilgrimage to Rome. When he died in 1035, however, his sons were most unworthy successors. By 1042 they were dead and St. Edward the Confessor (1003-1066) ascended the throne, restoring the Saxon line.

Although Edward was unquestionably a saint, his reign proved to be the end of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Edward's mother was daughter of the Duke of Normandy. The Normans came from Norway in the ninth and tenth centuries, part of the same migration that wiped out the Northumbrian kingdom. They first plundered and then conquered the northern coast of France, establishing the semi-independent Duchy of Normandy. They were converted to Christianity.

Edward and his brother were sent to Normandy as children to be raised in the duke's Court. His mother married Canute and it was decided that her sons by him should be the heirs to the English throne, instead of Edward and his brother. Edward therefore gave up all hope of becoming king. He devoted himself to the life of prayer and to the constructive pleasures of the Norman Court.

When he was called to the English throne in 1042, his sympathies and interests were all with the Normans. His gentle disposition and saintly character caused him to be welcomed by the English and Danes alike. His long reign was one of peace and he tried to administer the law justly. He lightened the taxes and was most generous in his gifts to the poor and to the Church. He built Westminster Abbey. He married the daughter of a Saxon noble, but because he had previously taken a vow of virginity, refused to have children by her.

His weakness as king was twofold. He did not instil into either Church or state the discipline that was needed. His Norman training made him feel the English were uncouth and he could not fully sympathize with them. These two factors prevented him from becoming the strong national leader who was needed to revive Church and state.

The Norman influence was strong in Edward's Court. He nominated William, Duke of Normandy, as his heir, passing over the Saxon claimants. The chief of these, Harold, was shipwrecked on the Norman coast. William forced Harold to swear on some sacred relics that he would support William's claim. But just before his death, Edward bequeathed the crown to Harold. The English rallied around him and he accepted the throne.

William at once asserted his claim to the English crown. He sought

and obtained the Pope's support. This was not difficult. There was the matter of Harold's broken oath. Also an unpopular Norman Archbishop of Canterbury had been driven out of the country and, although he was not deposed from his diocese, Harold, as Edward's adviser, had intruded another bishop. This bishop had obtained the pall from an anti-pope. From the Pope's point of view England was in schism and Harold was the chief cause of it.

The larger consideration that led to the Pope's support of William was the need of the English Church for the organization and moral leadership which the Normans could give it. Although the English Church was not as isolated as the Celtic Church had been, it still was not fully integrated into Western Europe. The Normans could and did effect that integration.

With the support of the Pope and the approval of Europe, William invaded England in 1066. Harold met him at Hastings. In the battle Harold was killed and the English defeated. William captured London, forced the nobles to elect him king and was crowned by the Church. The north and west resisted him for a while, but after the death of Harold the English had no national leader. William wore down the local opposition, and by 1070 was the undisputed ruler of England.

D. THE NORMAN CHURCH

1. Its Establishment

About 1031 a Norman knight decided to enter the Religious Life. He withdrew from the Court and founded the Benedictine Abbey of Bec in Normandy. This abbey was a cradle of great Church leaders.

The first of its illustrious sons to arrive was Lanfranc (1005-1089). He was born in Pavia, Italy, of probably a noble family. Although he was left an orphan, he received a good education and became one of the leading authorities on canon law. He went to Normandy where he became a teacher in an important school.

In time he felt called to the Religious Life. He left the school and started out to find a suitable monastery. On the journey he was attacked by robbers who stripped him of all his clothes and possessions except his cloak. As the robbers were leaving, Lanfranc recalled a story he had heard of a saint who under similar circumstances had begged the robbers to take his cloak also. In the story the robbers were so moved by the saint's generosity that they returned all his possessions.

Lanfranc decided this was a good way to recoup his losses. He pur-

sued the robbers calling on them to take his cloak. The robbers returned. They took his cloak, beat him unmercifully and tied him naked to a tree. There he spent the night, with plenty of time to meditate on the vanity of human possessions and honors. When a peasant found him the next morning more dead than alive, Lanfranc determined to enter the nearest monastery at once. This turned out to be Bec, which was very poor and still in the process of building its first mud huts. Lanfranc entered as a simple monk without revealing that he was an authority on canon law.

In time Lanfranc's identity became known. His abbot made him Prior of Bec and insisted that he open a school. This rapidly became famous and drew students from all over Europe. Among them was the future Pope, Alexander II.

Lanfranc was in Rome in 1050 on business for his abbey. At this time a controversy about the Eucharist came to a head. The year before Berengar (?-1088), head of the cathedral school at Tours, attacked the doctrine of Transubstantiation. This doctrine was the Church's attempt to express philosophically the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine. To understand it, the philosophical meaning of the word substance must be clearly grasped. In ordinary speech substance refers to the material out of which something is composed. This is precisely what it does *not* mean in philosophy. The material aspects of a thing, all that can be seen, heard, felt, smelt, tasted, all that can be determined by chemical analysis, all these are called in philosophy the accidents. The substance of a thing is the inner reality behind and independent of the accidents. We cannot experience the substance of a thing through our senses. Substance is the reality of the thing itself, not our experience of it.

The doctrine of Transubstantiation is that when the bread and wine are consecrated the accidents remain unchanged. The wafer still looks, feels, tastes like bread and has the chemical constituents of bread. But the substance, the inner reality, what the thing really is, is no longer bread but the Body of Christ. In the same way, the consecrated wine is his Blood.

While Lanfranc was in Rome in 1050, a council was held to deal with Berengar. His denial of Transubstantiation was declared heretical. As Lanfranc was suspected of agreeing with Berengar's views, he was called before the council to defend himself. His defense was so clear an exposition of the doctrine of Transubstantiation that it has determined its form ever since. Lanfranc subsequently defended the doctrine at other councils and wrote a treatise on it.

Lanfranc was by 1050 one of the chief advisers to William, Duke of Normandy. Two years later they were estranged because of William's marriage with Matilda, who was too closely related to him. Lanfranc was almost banished, but at the last minute he and William were reconciled. Lanfranc obtained the necessary dispensation for William in 1059 and the Pope's approval of the invasion of England in 1066. The following year he was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lanfranc brought to the English Church his knowledge of canon law and his organizational ability. He showed great tact and with the constant support of William was able to introduce order and discipline into the English Church. He insisted that the Archbishop of York recognize his dependence on Canterbury, held regular councils, reorganized canon law and the Church courts and brought England into conformity with continental customs. Lanfranc and William were always loyal to the Pope, but they were also determined to protect the rights of the English Church. When the Pope Gregory VII demanded that William do homage, thereby recognizing the Pope as his political superior, William refused on the grounds that he never promised to do so and his predecessors had not done it.

When William died in 1087 he was succeeded by his son, William II. The latter was a ruthless tyrant, interested only in his selfish pleasures. At first Lanfranc was able to restrain William II somewhat. But Lanfranc died in 1089. William II refused to appoint a successor, both because he wished to escape the moral supervision of an Archbishop and because he wanted to use the income of the diocese for himself. In 1093 William II was taken seriously ill, and fearing death, he sought to make amends for his sins. He appointed St. Anselm (1033-1109) as Archbishop of Canterbury.

Anselm, like Lanfranc, was a native of Italy, being born in Aosta. In 1057 he entered the Abbey of Bec, drawn thither by Lanfranc's fame. He became Prior of Bec in 1062 and succeeded the first abbot in 1078. Anselm was the first of the great medieval theologians. During the Dark Ages, theology was mostly concerned with collecting and restating the doctrine of the early Church. Anselm reintroduced original thought into theology. His two chief contributions were: 1) The ontological argument for the existence of God. This asserts that since God is the highest Being that can be conceived, and since to exist is higher than not to exist, God by definition must exist. 2) He restated the doctrine of Christ's atonement for human sin in terms of the feudal system.

Anselm tried to avoid accepting the Archbishopric of Canterbury,

but was finally prevailed upon to do so. He championed the people against William's tyranny and was soon banished. Anselm appealed to the Pope, who officially upheld Anselm, but privately sold him out to William. Anselm remained in France until the death of William II in 1100, whose brother Henry I then became king. After Anselm had returned to Canterbury, Henry demanded that the Archbishop receive investiture at his hands. This Anselm refused. In 1098 he had taken part in a council at Rome where investiture was condemned. Anselm had to withdraw to France again in 1103 to escape the king. In 1105 Anselm and Henry I were reconciled and two years later worked out the first successful compromise on the investiture question. It was determined that the Church should give bishops and abbots the insignia of their office and then they should do homage to the king to obtain the possessions of their dioceses or abbeys.

2. The Foundation of English Liberties

In the twelfth century the king of England was an absolute monarch. No state organization could successfully withstand his will. There was no Parliament. The king himself made the law by personal proclamations. He administered it and he acted as the chief court. Thus he had power of life and death over his subjects, provided he was strong enough to maintain himself in power. A tyrant could use his position to oppress the people and they had no legal means to protect themselves or to redress their wrongs.

There was, however, one institution which could protect them. This was the Church. Headed by the Pope, this was an international organization. The Church had its own law and its own courts. It is true that the appointment of Church officials was largely in the hands of the king. But if this led to the corruption of the Church courts, there was always the possibility of an appeal to Rome. Also if the king attacked a Church official, the latter could appeal to the Pope. The Pope could put pressure on the king by excommunicating him, by placing the country under interdict, which meant that no Church services could be held, or even by calling upon other rulers to attack and depose him. Thus the Church could defend the people against the king.

There was, however, another side to the picture. The Pope and the Church were not above corruption. The Pope and bishops were usually in the need of money and often sold justice to the highest bidder. The clergy could not be tried in anything but Church courts, and they often used this to escape punishment. The Church was frequently very

lax about maintaining its own discipline. It was impossible to establish a sound state government when a large section of the population could escape from its control by appeal to a foreign ruler, the Pope, against its own king. Therefore a king who was trying to put the state on a better basis was likely to come into conflict with the Church.

This problem came to a head in England when Henry II, who on the whole was a good ruler, appointed St. Thomas à Becket (1118-1170) Archbishop of Canterbury. Becket was the son of a London tradesman, who entered the Church and became an archdeacon. He was a very worldly and ambitious man. He attached himself to the king's Court, won Henry's confidence and finally became his Chancellor. Henry wanted to reform abuses in Church and state. In 1162 he appointed Becket Archbishop of Canterbury. Becket warned the king that if he became Archbishop he would serve the Church as loyally as formerly he had served the king. The king did not take this seriously and expected to control the Church through Thomas.

The Archbishop, however, kept his word. He became the champion of the Church and people against the king. Although Henry was right in seeking reforms, the state was not yet sufficiently developed to protect the people against a tyrannous king. When Henry forced the Church to enact the Constitutions of Clarendon, which subjected the clergy to the state courts and forbade appeals to the Pope, Becket opposed the king. He appealed to the Pope and fled to France. The quarrel was somewhat patched up in 1170 and Becket was allowed to return to Canterbury. He proceeded to excommunicate some of the king's barons. This infuriated Henry who at a banquet exclaimed, "Of the cowards that eat my bread is there none that will rid me of this troublesome priest?" Four knights took this as a hint, proceeded to Canterbury and murdered the Archbishop in his cathedral.

St. Thomas à Becket by his death defeated the king. He was immediately declared a martyr, and his shrine became the most popular center of pilgrimage in England. King Henry II was forced to do penance for having caused Becket's death. This included the repeal of the Constitutions of Clarendon. But that was not all. The king himself had to kneel before Becket's tomb and permit the monks to lash his naked back.

Henry II also vowed to go on a crusade. He was not able to do this, so his son Richard I led the Third Crusade after he became king. During Richard's absence England was ruled by his brother John, who succeeded him after his death. John is usually conceded to have been England's worst king, a cruel and ruthless tyrant.

In 1205 two candidates for the Archbishopric of Canterbury arrived in Rome, one elected in defiance of the king, the other elected at his bidding. The Pope, who was Innocent III, refused to accept either and forced the election of Stephen Langton (1165?-1228), an English Cardinal resident in Rome. He was a scholar and was responsible for dividing the books of the Bible into chapters. The Pope consecrated him in 1207.

John refused to permit him to come to England and drove his supporters out of the country. The Pope retaliated by placing England under interdict. John used this as an opportunity to plunder the Church and oppress the clergy. But he became increasingly unpopular and when in 1211 the Pope threatened to depose him, absolve his subjects from their allegiance and call on the King of France to remove him from the throne, John found he could not protect himself. In 1213 he surrendered completely to the Pope, resigning his kingdom into the Pope's hands and receiving it again as the Pope's vassal. Stephen Langton was permitted to proceed to Canterbury.

Once the king was the Pope's vassal, the Pope was ready to back him in anything. Not so Stephen Langton. He set out at once to champion the rights, if not of the people, at least of the barons against the king. In 1215 John was forced to sign the Magna Charta. The significance of this was that for the first time the law in England was made independent of the king's will. There was at least some law that the king himself had to obey. Thus the Magna Charta is the cornerstone of English liberties.

The Pope objected strongly to this and suspended Langton. He was restored in 1218 and continued to protect the Church in England against both Pope and king. After his death in 1228, however, the Pope and king joined forces to oppress the people. Church and state fell into corruption.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century, King Edward I began a reform of the state. In 1297 the development of Parliament started. It was carried on in the fourteenth century by Edward III. During his reign England was very hostile to the papacy because the Pope was dominated by the French king, who was the traditional enemy of England. Laws against the Pope were passed. The Statute of Provisors (1351) forbade the acceptance of certain benefits from the Pope; the Statute of Praemunire (1353) forbade appeals to his court. The two statutes were re-enacted and strengthened several times during the remainder of the century. In the fifteenth century the anti-papal feeling declined and the statutes were largely ignored.

As Parliament continued to develop, it took over the protection of English liberties. The Church, on the other hand, became more and more corrupt. A bad king could often use it as a means of oppressing the people. The opponents of a good king could appeal to it against him. The Church became more and more concerned with maintaining its privileges and income, and less and less with justice. The state became the champion of the people. But it must not be forgotten that the English state would never have established itself in the position where it could successfully resist the king without the help of the great churchmen of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Lanfranc, St. Anselm, St. Thomas à Becket and Stephen Langton.

See Review Outline VII. The Church in the British Isles.

CHAPTER VII

The Medieval Church

A. THE AWAKENING

1. The New Religious Orders

BY THE END of the eleventh century the initial enthusiasm of Cluny was waning. It was to remain for many years a bulwark of the Church, and its influence was to spread. But it had become rich and prosperous, and therefore no longer had the power to capture the imagination of the most ardent young men who wanted a form of the Religious Life that would make greater demands and permit deeper sacrifices.

The first of the new Orders that sprang up to meet this need was the Carthusians, founded by St. Bruno (c. 1030-1101). Bruno was born in Cologne of one of the leading families. He was educated there and at Rheims. In 1057 he became head of the episcopal school at Rheims, a position he held till 1075. He maintained the prestige of this center of learning and he himself became famous as a scholar and teacher. In 1075 he was made Chancellor of the Diocese of Rheims. He led the clergy in their effort to have a most unworthy bishop removed. It was not until 1080 that they were finally successful, and by that time Bruno had determined to give up all positions and honors and to retire to solitude. Accordingly he refused to accept the diocese when it was offered to him.

The next four years were spent finding and preparing for his vocation. Finally in 1084 he and six companions approached the Bishop of Grenoble to ask for a place where they could found a monastery.

The bishop had dreamed the night before of the appearance of seven stars, and he recognized in Bruno and his companions the fulfilment of his dream. He established them in a solitary spot called Chartreuse, where they founded their first monastery. Their name, Carthusians, comes from the Latin form of Chartreuse, "Cartusia."

Bruno was not allowed to remain long in his monastery. A former pupil, Pope Urban II, called him to Rome in 1090 to help him carry on the reforms of Pope St. Gregory VII. There Bruno was forced to remain until his death in 1101. His companions at Chartreuse persevered, however, and attracted many recruits. Soon the Order spread throughout Europe. Its monasteries in England were known as Charterhouses.

The asceticism of the Carthusians was severe. They never ate meat and rarely fish. Cheese and eggs were permitted only on Sundays and Thursdays. On Tuesdays and Saturdays their food consisted of vegetables alone; Wednesdays and Fridays they took nothing but bread and water. Except on major festivals they took but one meal a day. Their time was divided between prayer and manual work, with a minimum of sleep.

The keynotes of the Carthusian life were solitude and silence. They practically never spoke and each monk spent most of his time alone. His work was done in his cell or in the private garden attached to it. He prepared his own meals, and ate them alone except on Christmas, Easter and a few other feasts, when the community gathered in the refectory for two meals, which, however, were eaten in silence. The monks went to the chapel for Mass and the other services only on Sundays and major feasts. The rest of their prayers were said privately in their cells.

The purpose of the solitude and silence was to permit the monks to keep their minds fixed uninterruptedly on God. It is an extreme form of the enclosed contemplative life. In this day when service is generally considered to be more valuable than prayer, the contemplative life seems to many to be unjustifiable. Contemplatives who withdraw from the world are accused of shirking their duty to their neighbors in order to cultivate their own souls.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Such an accusation rests on a misunderstanding of the nature and value of prayer. Prayer in its higher forms means the complete surrender of oneself to God. It allows God to bring his spiritual influence to bear not only on the individual, but through him on the whole of human society. Sometimes God sends the soul who has surrendered to him out into the

world to perform works of service. But other souls he withdraws from the world, often gathering them into communities, to make them spiritual dynamos whose influence flows through the whole Church. By their continuous round of prayer mankind is lifted closer to God.

It is not surprising therefore that the medieval renaissance had its roots in the contemplative Orders that were founded at the end of the eleventh century. The direct connection between the latter and the outburst of spiritual energy that was to follow is clearly seen in the second of the new contemplative Orders. For it was the Cistercians who produced the first great leader of the medieval renaissance, St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

The Cistercians were founded by St. Robert of Molesme (c. 1029-1111). Robert was born at Champagne, France, of noble parents. He entered a Benedictine monastery at the age of fifteen and soon rose to the positions of prior and abbot. In 1075 he founded the Abbey of Molesme, where he hoped to establish a long-cherished reform of the Benedictine life. He was dissatisfied with the Cluny system because he felt it was unfaithful to the original concept of Benedictine poverty. Robert believed that not only the monks individually, but the monastery itself should be poor, and that the monks should engage in manual labor. There is considerable question whether St. Benedict really intended this, but Robert was convinced that he did.

Molesme, however, prospered and grew wealthy. The monks did not take kindly to Robert's reforms. He withdrew. During his absence the monks engaged in a brawl in which the prior, St. Alberic, was knocked senseless. The monks begged Robert to return, but, when he did, they still would not accept his reforms. In 1098 he and twenty others went out and founded Citeaux, where his ideals were fully put into practice. This was the start of the Cistercians.

The monks of Molesme got the Pope to force Robert to return a year later and he remained there until his death in 1111. Citeaux carried on under St. Alberic until his death in 1109. The third Abbot of Citeaux was St. Stephen Harding, an Englishman (c. 1050-1134). Under him St. Bernard entered the Order bringing thirty others with him. The Cistercians began to grow rapidly and to found new houses.

The keynotes of the Cistercian life were poverty, even including the use of the simplest Church ornaments and vestments, and manual labor. Their new contribution to monasticism was that they were an Order in the full sense of the word. The Cluny system was a federation of independent houses under the protection of Cluny. The Cistercian Order functioned as a unit, legislating through a General Chapter to

which all the houses sent delegates, and with a single Superior who visited and supervised the whole Order. The so-called Trappists are a modern group of Cistercians.

A third new Order in the twelfth century was the Norbertines.¹ Born in Germany about 1080, St. Norbert as a young man led a successful and luxurious life as a court ecclesiastic under the Emperor Henry V. At the age of thirty-five he was converted, gave away his possessions and began a career as wandering preacher to the poor. Others joined him and in 1120 an Order was founded. Instead of retiring to a monastery, they used their community house as a center from which they carried the Gospel to the people. A Second Order for nuns was founded. Lay people, married and living in the world, wanted to associate themselves with the Norbertines. For them the Third Order was founded with a rule adapted to their needs.

Like the other two founders we have just considered, St. Norbert was not allowed to remain in his Order. The papal legate and the Emperor obliged him to accept the Bishopric of Magdeburg, 1126. There he had a great struggle reforming the corrupt clergy and, after some success, died exhausted in 1134.

The Norbertines flourished for about two centuries before they began to decay. But their greatest importance was that they blazed the trail for a new type of Religious Life which was to come fully into its own with the Friars of the thirteenth century.

2. The Revival of Theology

As we have seen,² St. Anselm (1033-1109) reintroduced original thought into theology. Instead of merely quoting the early theologians, he used reason both to prove the existence of God and to draw out new meaning from the ancient doctrines.

This trend was carried on by Abelard (1079-1142), the most brilliant mind of his age. Although he contributed much to the revival of theology, his brilliance and his ambition to triumph over his rivals brought calamity to himself.

Born in Brittany, he went to Paris to study in the cathedral school. Soon he set himself up as a rival to his teacher and after a bitter struggle, humbled him and stole his pupils from him. Next he went to Laon where he repeated the process with another famous teacher. From 1108-1118 Abelard was teaching in Paris, his pupils numbering

¹ Sometimes called the Premonstratensians, from the site of their first monastery, Prémontré.

² See p. 160.

thousands. This period of success was ended by his tragic marriage to Heloise. Her uncle attacked Abelard and inflicted on him a serious injury. Both Abelard and Heloise were forced into the Religious Life. As a monk, Abelard was subjected to many petty persecutions, but eventually rose to be abbot of a Benedictine monastery, only to be driven out by the monks when he attempted to reform it.

Abelard returned to teaching and by 1136 was back in Paris enjoying even greater success than before. It is difficult to judge his contribution to theology fairly. His technique for expounding theology, which was to present the arguments on both sides of a question as forcefully as possible, sometimes resulted more in raising doubts than in establishing the Faith. Yet it was the method which in the next century was to bring theology to its highest development. Some of Abelard's doctrines which were shocking to his contemporaries because of their originality became the backbone of orthodoxy a hundred years later.

The most dangerous tendencies in Abelard's teaching were the exaltation of reason at the expense of revelation and tradition, and the emphasis of the human element in religion over the divine. This is well illustrated by Abelard's doctrine of the Atonement, known as Exemplarism. He taught that man is saved by contemplating the example of God's love and human sin which was given on Calvary. This is true as far as it goes, but overlooks the truths that Christ offered on behalf of man the sacrifice necessary to make man forgivable, and that man is redeemed not only by his own response but by the grace of God working from within his soul.¹

Abelard met his match in St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). Bernard was born near Dijon and, after he had completed his education, he became interested in the near-by monastery of Citeaux. Determining to enter it himself, he persuaded thirty other young nobles, including four of his brothers, to accompany him in 1113. So marked were his abilities that in 1115 he was sent out to found a new house at Clairvaux, of which he remained abbot for the rest of his life. From Clairvaux other houses were founded in rapid succession.

Bernard was a man of the greatest holiness and prayer. Out of this sprang his power as a preacher and theologian. His devotion to the Virgin Mary gave impetus and form to the medieval cult of the Blessed Virgin, which in turn shaped the ideals of chivalry. Bernard's outstanding abilities speedily made him a dominant figure not only

¹ See p. 14.

in his Order but in the Church at large. At a General Chapter of the Cistercians in 1119 he gave definite form to the constitutions of his Order. At a French council in 1128 he was a leading figure, and two years later he was called to another council to judge between rival Popes. He persuaded the council and eventually all of Europe to back Innocent II. He was used by both Pope and Emperor as a peacemaker and reconciler of heretics. Pope Eugenius III, who reigned 1145-1153, was one of his disciples. Bernard went on establishing monasteries and by the time of his death had founded 163.

Bernard, who was conservative in theology, sensed the dangers of Abelard's innovations and accused him of heresy. The matter was tried at the Council of Sens, 1141. On the eve of the council Bernard met with the bishops. Abelard, who was not present, felt the council had been prejudiced against him. He refused to answer Bernard's charges and appealed to the Pope. The council condemned Abelard's position and sent the verdict to Rome. The Pope confirmed it without waiting for Abelard to arrive. But the latter found a friend and protector in Abbot Peter of Cluny. He was allowed to live in peace in that monastery until he died the next year.

Bernard at the Pope's request preached the Second Crusade and was responsible for the enthusiasm with which it set out. Its dismal failure, though no fault of his, was blamed on him and broke his heart. He retired to Clairvaux where he remained till his death in 1153.

The constructive aspects of Abelard's teaching, both its doctrine and its method, were preserved by a more conservative theologian, Peter Lombard (c.1100-c.1160), in his *Book of Sentences* written 1145-1151. This is a systematic survey of all theology and became the standard textbook on the subject for the rest of the Middle Ages.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the first modern universities came into being at Bologna, Paris and Oxford. They were followed by others throughout Europe and provided the home and the stimulus for the revival of learning.

3. St. Francis of Assisi (1182?-1226)

Of all the followers of Christ perhaps the one who has most successfully imitated his Master is St. Francis of Assisi. Certainly he is the most popular hero of the Church.

Giovanni Bernadone was born in 1181 or 1182, the son of a wealthy cloth merchant of Assisi named Pietro. His father was in France at the time of his birth and on his return nicknamed him Francis—

"Frenchy." Francis grew up to be a charming youth, full of high spirits, the natural leader of the young men of Assisi and a devotee of the troubadours, those wandering minstrels from southern France whose love songs were the craze of the day. In all this his father encouraged him and kept him well supplied with money.

But there was a more serious side to his nature which manifested itself in an exceptional generosity to the poor. He was obviously not interested in his father's business. In 1201 he took part in a battle between Assisi and the neighboring city of Perugia, was captured and spent a year in a dungeon. This undermined his health but not his spirit. After his release and recovery he set out again for the wars in 1205 but turned back almost at once. Francis had reached a period of indecision. He was dissatisfied with his old life, but had not yet found his true vocation.

He became increasingly interested in the poor. From one class of beggars, however, he felt a violent repulsion. These were the lepers, of whom there were many wandering homeless and outcast in Italy. Meeting one unexpectedly one day, he threw him an alms as he rode by on the opposite side of the road. Conscience-stricken at the impersonal way he had treated the leper, Francis turned back, dismounted, kissed him and tended his sores. A new joy filled Francis' soul. At last he had broken through to kinship with the poor, outcast and suffering.

He began to devote himself to the care of a colony of lepers. On his return to Assisi one evening he passed the half-ruined Church of San Damiano. He went in to pray and heard the crucifix command him, "Francis, repair my church." Taking this literally, he went home and took some money, his father being away at the time. Francis tried to get the priest in charge of San Damiano to use this money to repair the church. The priest, however, fearing the wrath of Francis' father, refused and laid the money aside.

The priest was right. Pietro on his return was furious. He was glad to give Francis money for revels, but not to repair churches. Francis fled and hid for a month in a cave. When he emerged, Pietro seized him, beat him and locked him in the cellar. On Pietro's next trip Francis' mother released him. He returned to San Damiano. But his father brought him before the bishop and demanded the return of the stolen money. Francis in answer not only gave back the money, but also returned his clothes as well. Francis had found his vocation. He had espoused Lady Poverty. He went forth from the bishop's

court, naked save for an old cloak the bishop gave him, to live as a beggar.

He set about rebuilding San Damiano with his own hands, begging both his food and the stones he used in the repairs. He then restored other chapels. He continued to nurse the lepers. One day, hearing Matthew 10: 7-19 read, he took this as his Rule of Life. Occasionally he would go to Assisi and speak simply of the love of God. At first people thought him mad, but in time his words won their hearts. In 1208 Bernard, a magistrate of Assisi, asked to join Francis. He sold all his possessions and did so. Others followed his lead. By 1210 there were eleven of them. For them Francis drew up a simple Rule which was hardly more than a statement of the Gospel precepts. They proceeded to Rome to get the Pope's approval. Innocent III recognized in them a power for good and gave his verbal endorsement. They called themselves the Order of Friars Minor—"Little Brothers."

The keynotes of their life were poverty and joy. They owned nothing, not even a monastery. The world was their cloister, the poor their brethren and special care. They earned their way by working as manual laborers in exchange for food and only begged when no work could be found. Freed from all worldly cares their hearts were full of joy. They were called the Troubadours of God. Francis himself achieved amazing kinship to nature, on one occasion preaching to a flock of birds who seemed to respond to his words and on another taming a savage wolf. This kinship is beautifully expressed in his famous poem, the "Canticle of the Sun," an outburst of praise in which he greets the sun, moon, etc., as his brothers and sisters.

In 1212, St. Clare (1194-1253), an heiress of Assisi, asked to join Francis. He permitted her to give away her possessions and established for her the Second Order, of enclosed nuns. Recruits began to pour in. In 1217 at a General Chapter, the Christian world was divided into provinces, and Franciscan missions sent throughout Europe. Francis joined the Fifth Crusade and passed through the battle lines to preach before the Sultan in 1219. A Third Order for people in the world was founded about 1221.

Meanwhile the Order was growing so rapidly—there were at least 5,000 members by 1220—that things were getting out of hand. No longer could Francis control the Order personally. His absence on the crusade brought matters to a crisis. Cardinal Ugolino, the vicar appointed by the Pope to supervise the Franciscans, insisted that they must have a definite Rule that would give more stability and discipline to the Order. This Francis was reluctant to write, for it seemed

to him an unfaithfulness to his ideal of simplicity and utter poverty. But, always obedient to Church authority, he complied and by 1223 compiled a Rule which received the Pope's approval.

Francis, however, felt he could no longer govern the Order in this new form. He named Brother Peter vicar-general and retired to a deeper life of prayer. The climax of this came in 1224. Francis had gone with a few companions to La Verna, a rugged mountain. He had retired to a cleft of rock cut off from the mountain by a deep chasm. His companions, remaining on the other side, were told to leave his food at the end of a log bridge. On September 14 (Holy Cross Day) Brother Leo ventured across and saw Francis receive from an angel the wounds of the crucifixion in his hands, feet and side. These are called the stigmata.

Francis bore these wounds for the rest of his life. The pain they caused was intense and was increased, as his strength failed, by the crude remedies doctors applied to prolong his life. But Francis bore it all with heroic joy, counting it a privilege of which he was all unworthy thus to share the suffering of Christ. As his end approached he added another stanza to his Canticle, addressed to Sister Death. On October 3, 1226 he was permitted to embrace her, as years before he had embraced Lady Poverty, and passed to his eternal reward.

4. The Friars

The form of the Religious Life founded by St. Francis was not entirely new. As we have seen,¹ St. Norbert in the twelfth century founded an Order which used its monasteries simply as points of departure for preaching the Gospel to the people. Early in the thirteenth century another Order had carried this idea further.

St. Dominic (1170-1221) was born in Spain. After a thorough theological training he became a canon of Osma. From 1205-1214 he was associated with a campaign to stamp out the Cathari, a heretical sect, in southern France. The methods used were first preaching and second an armed "crusade." This experience convinced Dominic that the first method was better. In 1215 he founded an Order of Preachers dedicated to the conversion of heretics. The monks embraced poverty so that they might be like the poor whom they sought to reach. Dominic attended the Fourth Lateran Council that year and sought to get his Order approved. They refused. He returned to Toulouse in France, adopted the ancient Rule of St. Augustine and a pattern of

¹ See p. 168.

life similar to the Norbertines. He founded a Second Order for nuns and a Third Order for people in the world. The Pope approved his Rule in 1216, and the next year Dominic began to send his brethren throughout Europe to gain recruits and convert heretics.

There is a tradition that on one trip through Italy Dominic met Francis and recognized in him a spiritual master. Certainly there is a similarity of spirit between the Dominicans and the Franciscans. But the Dominicans, having preaching as their objective, tended from the first to found their houses near universities where their men could be trained for the ministry. Their growth and influence was as rapid and spectacular as the Franciscans and their success in converting heretics enormous.

The Franciscans tended to convert the poor more by living with them than by preaching to them. They expressed the Gospel in their life and devised picturesque ways of making it vivid to the unlearned. One of these is the Christmas crib, the origin of which is attributed to St. Francis himself.

After Francis' death his Order suffered from internal division and discord. It is easy to blame Brother Elias (c.1180-1253), whom Francis named vicar-general when Brother Peter died. After Francis' death, Elias began at once to build the magnificent church at Assisi, adorned with Giotto's frescoes, in honor of the founder of the Order. The splendor of this project seemed inconsistent with Franciscan poverty, and Elias failed to get elected minister-general in 1227. He was, however, elected to that office in 1232.

A position of authority brought out the weaknesses in Elias' character. He was cruel, ruthless, arbitrary, arrogant. He persecuted those who opposed him, refused to call a General Chapter, gave important positions to ignorant lay brothers who would be his tools, and in general became a complete tyrant. It was charged that he personally abandoned the life of poverty and lived in luxury. Things came to such a pass that in 1239 the Pope deposed him. He fled to the German Emperor, was excommunicated and expelled from the Franciscans. Before his death in 1253, he was reconciled to the Church, but not to the Order.

Unquestionably Elias widened the breach that was splitting the Franciscans. But the problem was not of his making, nor were the main lines on which he tried to solve it entirely wrong. The original Franciscan ideal of absolute poverty had been all right when the Order consisted of a small group under Francis' personal supervision. When the Order grew to thousands some other provision had to be

made. It would not do to have so many untrained, uninstructed Friars wandering around Europe, living off the country-side, and perhaps teaching heresy. Permanent headquarters, houses of study, books and other material tools had to be provided. In seeking to do this, Elias may have aimed at too great magnificence and been too intolerant of opposition. But Elias' solution was in the end the one which had to prevail.

Francis himself had been brought to recognize this. He really endorsed that policy in his Rule of 1223 and had appointed Elias vicar-general. But some of his ardent brethren never accepted the change. They wanted to remain faithful to Francis' early ideal. Much as we admire their zeal and deplore the persecutions inflicted upon them, we must recognize that they were mistaken. Their refusal to adapt to changing circumstances had much of stubbornness in it and some of them did lapse into heresy.

A great minister-general of the Franciscans was St. Bonaventure (1221-1274), who was elected in 1257. Born in Italy, he entered the Franciscans as a young man and was sent to Paris to study theology. He became a pupil of Alexander of Hales (?-1245), the first great Franciscan theologian. Bonaventure himself became a theologian second in importance only to St. Thomas Aquinas. Bonaventure was a lecturer at the University of Paris, 1248-1255. In the latter year an attack on the Friars at the University caused them to be expelled. But they were reinstated in 1257, at which time both Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas received their doctor's degrees.

After being elected Minister-General of the Franciscans in 1257 Bonaventure had to devote most of his energies to governing the Order, though he still found time for great theological works. Bonaventure's policy was to avoid the two extremes that divided the Franciscans. He strove to check the violations of the Rule of which many brethren were guilty; but he refused to endorse the most rigorous interpretation. While this cost him the support of the extremists, he did unite most of the Order on a sound basis. His friendship with and admiration for Thomas Aquinas kept the growing rivalry between the Franciscans and Dominicans within bounds.

After the death of Bonaventure at the Council of Lyons, 1274, the dispute between the two factions among the Franciscans continued. The Order fell on evil days during the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century a reform took place which returned to a reasonable faithfulness to the original Rule and was known as the Observants. Some Franciscans, however, wanted further dispensations, and this

party crystallized into the Conventuals. The two divisions in the Order were made independent of each other in 1517. A few years later a further and more rigorous reform of the Franciscans known as the Capuchins was started. This eventually was separated into a third autonomous group.

B. THE FLOWERING OF THE MIDDLE AGES

1. The Papacy at Its Height

The struggle between Pope and Emperor was not ended by the Concordat of Worms,¹ 1122. But the Pope's supremacy in Italy was strengthened and he was able to hold his own against even a strong Emperor.

In 1198 Innocent III (c.1160-1216) became Pope. He was the son of a noble Italian family. He was educated in Rome, Paris and Bologna, became a learned theologian and canon lawyer, held important Church offices in Rome, and was made a Cardinal in 1190.

The Emperor Henry VI died in 1197, leaving a fourteen year old son, Frederick II. Being a minor, he was not considered for Emperor. The two candidates for that office were Henry's brother Philip, and Otto of Brunswick. Neither had been elected when Innocent became Pope. His first acts were to bring Rome and the Papal States back under his control. He then got Otto to recognize his claims, but when Philip began to gain the upper hand he got him to agree to submit the question of who should be Emperor to a papal court. Philip, however, was murdered in 1208. His rival renewed his promises to the Pope and was crowned Otto IV in 1209. Otto proceeded to forget his promises.

Meanwhile Innocent had established the child Frederick II on the throne of Sicily in spite of much opposition. On the death of Frederick's mother, the Pope became his guardian. When Otto proved unfaithful to the Pope, the German princes, supported by King Philip II of France, elected Frederick Emperor. The Pope confirmed the election. Philip defeated Otto in 1214 and Frederick was crowned.

Innocent was no less successful in his efforts to control other kings. We have seen² how in 1213 King John of England surrendered his crown into the Pope's hands and received it again as the Pope's vassal. Innocent forced Philip II of France to take back his wife whom he had unjustly divorced. The Pope separated the King of Leon from a wife too closely related and made the King of Aragon receive his

¹ See p. 141.

² See p. 163.

crown as a vassal. These were the two chief kingdoms of Spain. At one time or another he demanded and obtained obedience from the rulers of Portugal, Norway, Sweden, Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland. Innocent probably did not approve in advance the change of plans that led the Fourth Crusade to conquer Constantinople instead of Jerusalem, but he did back the Latin Kingdom in Constantinople and hoped thereby to regain control over the Eastern Church.

Thus Innocent achieved the papal ideal of being the recognized head of Christendom, with the rulers accepting his judgments at least in moral matters. In theory there was much to be said for this arrangement. In practice, however, there were grave drawbacks. In order to enforce his moral judgments the Pope had to have worldly power at his command. This led him to establish himself as a secular ruler of the Papal States. He had to enter the game of European politics and play one ruler off against the other. This often forced him to disregard moral issues in favor of political. It will be remembered that, after King John had surrendered to Innocent, the latter backed the English king against Stephen Langton at the time of the Magna Charta. All this detracted from the Pope's spiritual influence. Furthermore, it took vast sums of money. This encouraged the Pope to raise taxes and to increase his revenues by the sale of Church offices, dispensations, pardons and indulgences.

Innocent sincerely desired to purify the Church. The control he exercised over the rulers of Europe was motivated at least in part by the desire to make them reform the clergy in their domains. He recognized the potential influence of Francis and Dominic and encouraged their Orders. It is surprising to find such spiritual discernment in a Pope who might otherwise be considered merely a worldly statesman. Innocent was zealous in his defense of the Faith against heresy. He tried to reconvert the Cathari and when this failed called a "crusade" to exterminate them. His Church policy was to concentrate power in the hands of the Papacy. He claimed the right to decide disputed episcopal elections. He decreased the power of archbishops, his potential rivals in their respective countries, in favor of the bishops, a larger and more easily manipulated group.

The crystallization of Innocent's policy was accomplished at the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215. The Pope was declared to be the Vicar of Christ, not merely of Peter. His legates (official ambassadors) took precedence over bishops and archbishops. It was asserted that the Emperor and other civil rulers received their authority from the Church and that the Pope therefore had the right to supervise the

exercise of it or even to take it away. The doctrine of Transubstantiation¹ was made a necessary article of Faith. Communion in one kind, which meant that the laity received only the Host and not the Chalice, was authorized. The theory behind this is that, as Christ cannot be divided, he is fully present in the consecrated bread alone, as well as in the consecrated wine, and therefore it is not necessary to receive both. Private confession to a priest was authorized and all Christians were required to confess and receive Communion at least once a year.

After Innocent's death in 1216, the Emperor Frederick II turned against the Papacy and the struggle between the Pope and Emperor continued. More and more as the century wore on the Pope turned to the King of France for support. With the latter's help the Pope was eventually able to break the Emperor's power. But the result was the subjection of the Papacy to the French king.

At the close of the century Boniface VIII (c.1235-1303), who became Pope in 1294, tried to throw off this new yoke. When the French king, Philip IV, levied a tax on the Church to raise money for his war with England, the clergy protested to the Pope. In 1296 Boniface issued the bull *Clericis laicos*, which, on the ground that the Church was of divine origin, forbade the state to levy a tax on the Church and prohibited the clergy from paying one. Philip replied by cutting off the papal revenues from France. This forced Boniface to modify his position, allowing the clergy to make voluntary contributions and even in extreme necessity with the Pope's permission to be taxed. From the latter developed the abuse of permitting kings to tax their clergy if the Pope got a 50% cut.

The peace thus achieved lasted only till 1301 when Philip arrested a papal legate and tried him for treason. Philip and Boniface condemned each other, and the French nobles and clergy backed their king. In 1302 Boniface issued the bull *Unam sanctam*, which pushed the papal claims to the limit. It declared that it is necessary to salvation that every man be subject to the Pope. It was, however, the desperate last shout of a defeated man. Philip sent a party who arrested Boniface in 1303 and held him prisoner in his palace at Anagni. Eventually he was rescued by the townspeople, helped by the Orsini family of Rome. The latter proceeded to hold the Pope prisoner in the Vatican. This broke Boniface's spirit and he died, possibly by suicide, a month later. Thus the Pope who had made the grandest claims came to an ignoble end.

¹ See p. 159.

2. St. Louis IX of France (1214-1270)

Louis IX was the son of Louis VIII, King of France, and Blanche of Castile. His father died in 1226, but his mother succeeded in getting him crowned and in keeping him on the throne during his minority in spite of the opposition of some of the nobles. She had great political skill and was supported by the papal legate. After Louis became king in his own right in 1234, his mother continued to assist him in governing the country until her death in 1252.

Blanche was a woman of deep devotion and gave her son a careful Christian training. She once said to him, "I had rather see you dead at my feet than guilty of a mortal sin." Louis took her teaching to heart. He became very devout. It was his custom to attend two Masses daily and the entire round of services including the Night Office at midnight. He fasted much and wore a hair shirt under his royal robes. His generosity to the poor was unbounded. Not only did he build hospitals and homes for the sick and afflicted; it was his custom to feed a hundred beggars daily, waiting on them with his own hands, washing their feet and himself feeding on the scraps they left behind.

Yet he was every inch a king. The beggars were admitted by the back door and ministered to in private. In the presence of his court Louis maintained the dignity of his kingly office. He married in 1234 and was always faithful to his wife. They had eleven children. Louis succeeded in the difficult task of keeping peace between his queen and the queen mother.

Louis was a model Christian knight. He was physically strong, brave in battle, patient in adversity, courteous and generous to his enemies, —the embodiment of the ideal of chivalry. In 1244, during a serious illness, he determined to go on a Crusade. It was not until 1248 that he was able to arrange his affairs so that he could set out. He went to Egypt. After some early success in the summer of 1249, part of his army was destroyed later in the year and Louis himself was captured the following spring. He obtained his liberty by giving up his conquests and paying a huge ransom. He proceeded to Palestine where he remained until 1254, ransoming prisoners and strengthening the few remaining Christian fortresses in the East. Word reached Louis of the death of his mother over a year before. She had been ruling France during his absence, and at her death the nobles began to quarrel among themselves. Louis had to hasten home to re-establish his kingdom.

With great skill Louis brought the nobles into peace with each

other and into subjection to himself. He was able to do this not so much by war as by his moral power and the love of the people for him. Louis was devoted to peace and justice. The law courts of France were established in his reign. In his dealings with other rulers his primary object was to make a just and lasting peace. He made a treaty with Henry III of England in 1258 in which he conceded territories the English king had not conquered for important rights elsewhere. Neither the French nor the English were fully pleased with it, which is a good indication of its fairness. Louis concluded a similar treaty with the King of Aragon. So famous was he for justice that the English barons chose him as an arbiter in their quarrel with Henry III.

In the struggle between Pope and Emperor, Louis maintained a policy of watchful neutrality. He was always faithful to the Pope as head of the Church, but refused to be a party to his plans for political aggrandizement. The only time Louis intervened was to protect the Pope from capture by the Emperor when he had taken refuge in Lyons in 1247. Louis was always a patron of the Church and did his best to raise the standards of the clergy. He brought back the Crown of Thorns, the Lance and the Sponge from Constantinople and had the magnificent Sainte Chapelle, a jewel of architecture and stained glass, erected to house them.

Louis was a patron of learning and a friend of St. Thomas Aquinas, the theologian. During his reign Robert of Sorbonne established the college of the University of Paris that has ever since borne his name.

In 1267 Louis decided to go on another Crusade. He set out in 1270. On the advice of his brother, Charles, whom he had reluctantly allowed to conquer Sicily at the Pope's request, Louis took the Crusade to Tunis. There the plague swept through the army, killing many of the soldiers and finally taking the life of St. Louis himself.

Some historians have felt that the Crusades were the chief blot on Louis' reign. It is certain that they accomplished little and were very expensive. The ransom paid in the first and the preparations for the second left France deeply in debt at his death. The one big mistake Louis made, that of permitting his brother Charles, an unscrupulous intriguer who kept Italy in turmoil for the rest of his life, to conquer Sicily, was made because Louis thought that his brother's position in Sicily would forward the Crusade.

On the other hand the treaties which Louis made with his foreign enemies and the just settlements of quarrels at home were also motivated by the Crusades. Louis wanted things settled permanently so that there would be no outbreak of trouble during his absence. The

Crusades united France as nothing else could have done. Above all they were the finishing touch that made Louis in the eyes of his contemporaries the ideal medieval king.

Such he was, and in him we see the medieval concept of the state at its best. Louis demonstrates that it was a high and not unworkable idea. The king was an absolute ruler, but his authority was recognized as being bestowed by God. It was to be exercised in accordance with God's will and for God's glory. The king was personally responsible to God for the way he used his power. Under a Christian king like Louis, who was both a saint and an able ruler, the result was a government based on justice and charity. But the weakness of the system was that all depended on the character of the king. Under a cruel and selfish king like John of England the state became a ruthless tyranny. Unfortunately the weak or wicked kings outnumbered the good. Yet it is well for us to see the medieval ideal at its best as exemplified by St. Louis IX before we condemn it too harshly.

3. St. Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-1274)

Thomas Aquinas was born near Naples, the youngest son of a count. At the age of five he was placed in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino to get his education. From the first he showed an aptitude for study. He proceeded to the University of Naples, where he was a brilliant student. He was also very devout and determined to enter the Dominicans. This his family opposed, as the begging Friars were beneath their dignity. If Thomas was to be a monk they wanted him to be a Benedictine, in which Order he would soon have become an abbot, a man of importance and influence in the Church. It was, however, to avoid this and to be able to devote himself to study and teaching that Thomas wanted to join the Dominicans.

After Thomas had received the habit of the Dominicans sometime around 1240, his brothers arrested him and kept him imprisoned for over a year, doing everything to shake his determination. Thomas used this period for further study and at last his family had to acquiesce to his determination. He was sent by the Dominicans to the Universities of Paris and Cologne to study under the leading teacher of the day, St. Albert the Great (1206?-1280). The latter was also a Dominican. Albert and Thomas were responsible for establishing the great tradition of scholarship in the Dominican Order. Albert was made Bishop of Ratisbon in 1260 but resigned two years later to return to teaching. He attended the Council of Lyons in 1274 and

after Thomas' death defended his reputation at Paris. He died at Cologne in 1280.

The first creative period of scholastic theology ended with the writing of Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences* in the middle of the twelfth century. A new stimulus was needed before further creative advance could be made. This was provided in the recovery of the works of the Greek philosopher Aristotle. Up through the twelfth century only a few of his works were known in the West, and those were in poor Latin translations. In that century, however, the Mohammedans, who had contact with Greek culture in Asia Minor, were translating Aristotle into Arabic. Since the Mohammedan Empire extended into Spain, these translations were introduced there. The Jews who lived both in Spain and the Christian lands of the West, picked up the works of Aristotle and carried them into the rest of Europe.

Coming from a Mohammedan and Jewish source, the works of Aristotle were at first suspect by the Church and their use condemned. But the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople permitted western scholars to make translations of Aristotle direct from the original Greek, and keen minds recognized the value of his philosophy for expounding the Christian Faith.

Aristotle, if not the greatest pagan philosopher, was second only to his teacher, Plato. The scope of his knowledge was more comprehensive than Plato's and his philosophical system more orderly. It is and will always remain a matter of dispute whether Aristotle was as profound as Plato. In the thirteenth century, however, western theology most needed comprehensiveness and order. This made Aristotle their philosopher.

Foremost among those who recognized the value of Aristotle, but who used him with sufficient critical detachment to avoid being led into heresy, was Albert the Great. With this stimulus he became a scholar of amazing comprehensiveness. His writings comprise a well-ordered encyclopedia of all knowledge, scientific, philosophical and theological, which is surpassed only by the works of St. Thomas.

St. Thomas' advantage was that he had the ability to present ideas in a more simple and clear-cut order than his teacher. He was able to think through problems that Albert left unsolved. Thomas was also a man of prayer and a mystic of the highest order. His deepest insights came not from study and thought but from the inspiration received through contemplation of God. Finally Thomas was a poet. Commissioned by the Pope to write the Office and Mass for the Feast of Corpus Christi, not only did he select the antiphons and lessons

with skill, but he composed for it some of the finest Latin hymns. Parts of four of them are to be found in *The Hymnal*, 1940, numbers 193, 194, 199, 200, 204, and 209.

Thomas spent most of his life in writing and in teaching at Paris, Cologne, Naples and other universities in Italy. Students flocked to him; Popes and kings sought his advice. He refused the Archbishopric of Naples in 1265 in order that his studies might not be interrupted. His writings, enormous in scope and quantity, fill 32 folio volumes averaging over 600 closely printed pages each. He made the perfect combination of Aristotelianism and the Christian Faith, keeping always the exact balance between reason and revelation.

His greatest work, the *Summa Theologica*, a summary of all theology, is still the fundamental book on the subject. He left it incomplete at his death, because the revelations given him toward the end of his life caused him to feel his writings were inadequate. It was finished by his pupils from the notes he had left. On the importance of St. Thomas, Dr. Foakes-Jackson writes:¹ "If the Christian revelation is final and complete, if here, at least, man has nothing to do but assimilate its teaching through the Church, Thomas occupies an unassailable position. For his system is the appeal of one of the acutest of human minds to the intellect, though he admits that there is a knowledge of God unattainable to man save by revelation. Every statement is subjected to the test of reason, all possible objections are raised and met. Medieval doctrine is set forth with perfect clearness and order, and in this way those who refuse to hear the Church are deliberate sinners against the light of reason. Heresy, therefore, is not only the worst of sins, it is the height of folly."

Thomas died on the way to the Council of Lyons, 1274, to which he had been summoned by the Pope. The chief figure of this council was the second leading theologian of his age whom we have already studied,² the Franciscan St. Bonaventure, who had been made a Cardinal in 1273. To this council the Eastern Emperor, having just driven out the Latin rulers of Constantinople and wishing to win the support of the Pope, sent theologians instructed to accept a formula on the basis of which the Eastern and Western Churches could be declared reunited. This they did, yielding on all disputed points to the West. Inevitably on their return home their formula was rejected by the Eastern Church.

¹ *Introduction to the History of Christianity, A.D. 590-1314*, page 234.

² See p. 175.

The most lasting achievement of the Council of Lyons was the setting-up of the machinery for the election of a Pope. The Cardinals were to be locked up with a few attendants and with no contact with the outside world until an election was accomplished. To speed their deliberations their food was to be reduced to bread and water on the fifth day. Except for the last provision which proved unenforceable, this is still the procedure today.

The chief critic of St. Thomas was another Franciscan theologian, Duns Scotus (?-1308). His was a brilliant mind. Where Thomas emphasized the intellect, Scotus tended to stress the will and its freedom. Scotus wrote only on specific points and left no systematic work. This, together with an obscure style, makes it hard to get his position clear. There are flashes of insight, but there are other passages which seem mere destructive criticism. He is one of the most misunderstood theologians of the Church and is likely to remain so until some scholar produces a clear exposition of his teaching.

4. Critique of the Thirteenth Century

There is no century in human history which has had passed upon it such extremes of judgment as the thirteenth. Since the sixteenth century it has been the fashion even in scholarly circles to consider it an age of darkness. Men's minds were thought to have been fettered by the superstitions fostered by a corrupt Church, and society to have been enslaved by a feudal system dominated by blood-thirsty warring tyrants. This verdict has been most common among Protestants, who, having broken with the Church because of its corruptions in the late Middle Ages, read these corruptions back into the thirteenth century.

The Roman Catholics, who boast their continuity with the Church of the Middle Ages, have tended to exalt the thirteenth century. But since they have seemed chiefly to admire the undisputed sway the Church then had over society and the docility with which her teaching was supposed to have been accepted in the "age of faith," their praise has tended only to confirm the Protestant verdict as to its corruption and superstition.

In recent years, however, there has been a sincere effort to study the actual life and achievements of the century. This has demonstrated that the popular conceptions, both favorable and unfavorable, are false. The scholarly judgment has of course been varied also. But all who have made an honest effort to appraise the century's achievements agree that many were outstanding and one man has dared to call it "the greatest of centuries."

We have seen that the century opened with the genuine religious revival achieved by the Friars. The Franciscans literally carried the Gospel to the poor and thousands were enlightened and raised to devotion and holiness. The Dominicans backed this up with a more intellectual presentation of the Faith. This tremendous popular movement was loyal to the Church and therefore a source of strength rather than division. The leaders of the Friars were themselves humbly submissive to the Church even while they recognized and sought to reform its corruption. St. Francis would kiss the hand of an evil priest, not because he was blind to his wickedness, but because he revered his priestly office. The Church officials on their part—Popes, Cardinals, bishops—though they were usually worldly and corrupt, recognized the value of the Friars' movement and encouraged it. Such discernment on both sides is amazing.

The intellectual achievement of the thirteenth century was astounding. Thanks again to the Friars, it kept within the framework of the Church. For of the four theologians we have studied, two were Dominicans and two Franciscans. Between them they achieved a systematic exposition of Christian thought which has never since even been approached, let alone equalled.

This intellectual activity was not restricted to theology. It was the century in which the universities were established and their curriculum worked out in the form that was to last for centuries. They were crowded. Apparently there were more students enrolled than at any time since, and the population of Europe was much smaller than in modern times. Hence the percentage attending the universities was greater. These universities began the systematic study of law. They made great strides in medicine. Most surprising of all, they anticipated much of modern science.

In the latter connection we should note Roger Bacon (1214-1294), an English Franciscan who taught chiefly at Oxford. He was a pupil of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and of St. Albert the Great. From them he derived a keen interest in natural science. For years he engaged in actual experiments in such fields as physics. After he became a Franciscan he was in continual difficulty over his studies and writings, but his difficulties were with his religious superiors, not with the Church. One Pope encouraged him. Because of his difficulties and because he was about three centuries ahead of his time, he was not fully appreciated. But he did advocate and use the modern experimental method in science and made remarkable discoveries.

In art the thirteenth century's achievements were monumental.

Gothic architecture rose to its height. This includes not only the beautifully proportioned buildings, with their soaring arches, their flying buttresses, their massive towers and their delicate spires. It also includes their stained glass windows, their sculpture, their woodcarving, their metal work, their vestments, their illuminated service books. In each and all of these fields they are unexcelled. Nor were these glories restricted to cathedrals and churches. The same excellence of craftsmanship was to be found in the town halls, public baths, public fountains and private houses.

It should be noted that these triumphs of architecture and art were being achieved simultaneously all over Europe. They were the work of the whole population of the place where they were built. This gives some idea how widespread was the high level of craftsmanship.

In painting, music and literature the century produced great work. There were, for instance, the frescoes of Giotto, the development of plainsong, the *Divine Comedy* of Dante (the latter completed in the fourteenth century but reflecting the thoughts of the preceding). The thirteenth century saw Church Latin reach its peak and literature in modern languages have its beginning.

Commerce and geographical discovery flourished. It is the period when the trading cities of Italy and the Rhine were coming into their own. Marco Polo and others penetrated as far as China. The guilds of craftsmen were at their height.

Modern nations were just beginning to take form. We have seen how the century could produce a saintly king like Louis IX, and he could unite a nation by the strength of his moral character and the inspiration of his ideals. Although society was still in the grip of the feudal system, which meant that the serfs, who comprised the majority of the population, were little better than slaves, there was among the nobles the beginning of civil liberties. For the Magna Charta was signed in 1215, and the parliaments of England and France first met toward the close of the century.

There was, of course, the darker side of the picture. Indeed, it was a century of violent contrasts. The saints were most holy and the sinners unblushingly wicked. For every King Louis IX there were many tyrants like King John. Even a great Pope like Innocent III was engaged in power politics, and most of the higher clergy were selfish, worldly, and corrupt. The lower clergy were often ignorant, and the majority of the population downtrodden, untaught and victimized by superstition and crushing taxes. Warfare and civil strife were rampant, life was cheap, cruelty widespread.

Yet, when all this is taken into account, it was a great century, all the greater because the Christian Faith and practice were accepted without question as the basis of life. It was a society with true principles, recognizing true ideals. It did not achieve them. The sinners, no doubt, out-numbered the saints. But at least the sinners knew and admitted they were sinners. They did not rationalize their sin into false philosophy as they do today. And because the ordinary man could, if he wished, have some concept of eternal values, some glimpse through prayer and worship of eternal truth, some realization of his eternal worth and eternal destiny as a child of God, one suspects that, in spite of all the poverty, cruelty and corruption of the society in which he lived, he was happier than men on the whole have been in the centuries since.

C. THE DECLINE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

1. The "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy (1305-1377)

Boniface VIII had failed to break the hold of the French king on the Papacy. The result was that the hold was tightened. Boniface's successor reigned only a few months. Eleven months later, in 1305, a Frenchman was elected Pope, taking the name of Clement V. Remembering how Boniface had been imprisoned by a Roman family, Clement decided that a city which was still torn by strife between the leading families was not a safe place for the Pope to live. He therefore never went to Rome. He settled in a Dominican monastery at Avignon, a city which was not at that time within the French kingdom. It was, however, just across the Rhone from its frontier.

This had the effect of placing the Pope under the direct supervision of the French king. Philip IV after his triumph over Boniface was determined to exercise this to the full. Clement's powerlessness to resist is illustrated by the suppression of the Knights Templar, a Military Religious Order founded to protect the Kingdom of Jerusalem. No doubt the Order needed to be suppressed. The Crusades being over, its function was ended. It had enormous wealth and its members were greedy and arrogant.¹ This armed force which had always been loyal to the Pope's command was, however, a source of strength to the Papacy. Clement was reluctant to part with it.

Philip was determined to destroy the Templars. When Clement hesitated, Philip threatened to call a council which would formally condemn Boniface VIII for heresy, fraud and immorality. Clement

¹ This is well shown in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

knew Philip would carry out his threat and that such a condemnation of a former Pope would be fatal to papal prestige. Meanwhile Philip was charging the Templars with the grossest blasphemies and immoralities. The Templars' houses were closed and the knights arrested. There is no evidence that they were guilty of the crimes charged, except a few confessions extracted by horrible tortures, which were usually retracted afterwards. The knights were then treated as relapsed heretics and burned at the stake.

Clement could do no more than mildly protest this invasion of the Church's rights. The Templars were counted as clergy and therefore not subject to the king's courts. In the end Clement had to yield completely and suppress the Templars throughout Europe. He even submitted his decree to Philip in advance to be sure it suited him.

Not all the Avignon Popes were so docile to the French king as Clement V. His successor, John XXII, another Frenchman, was much stronger, and in matters that did not directly concern France pursued a wise policy. He was responsible for sending missions to North Africa and Asia, even penetrating as far as China and India. Nevertheless he settled permanently at Avignon, built a magnificent papal palace and maintained a court which was infamous for its luxury and immorality. His successors continued both the good and bad aspects of his policy.

Thus for a period of nearly seventy years (1305-1377), the Popes gave the appearance of being under the thumb of the French king. As this was approximately the same length of time that the ancient Jews were enslaved in Babylon, it has been called the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy. It should be noted, however, that the Popes were not forced to remain at Avignon. They chose to stay there.

This was a blow to papal prestige. As long as the Popes lived at Rome, they seemed to have an international status. The Pope himself was the ruler of Rome and the Papal States. He might occasionally have to bow to the wishes of a strong ruler, but he did not appear to be part of his kingdom. At Avignon, on the other hand, the Pope did seem to be identified with France. Hence the enemies of France felt themselves to be on the opposite side from the Pope. The Pope became a party in the struggles between the rising nations, instead of maintaining his position above them.

In Italy the effect of the Pope's absence was disastrous. There was no one to check the incessant warfare between the petty states. Rome itself, a prey to the conflict between the leading families, was reduced to anarchy. Its buildings were practically destroyed. Marble blocks from the Colosseum were burned for lime. Churches fell into disre-

pair. Cattle grazed even at the foot of the altars of St. Peter's and the Lateran.

The person chiefly responsible for the return of the Pope to Rome was an illiterate Italian girl, St. Catherine of Siena (1347-1380). She was next to the youngest child of a dyer of Siena. From earliest years she was unusually devout and vowed herself to virginity at the age of seven. When she was old enough, her family was determined she should marry, but she persisted in remaining faithful to her vow. Her parents did all they could to break her determination, even making her a household drudge. This and her extreme ascetic practices broke her health. But she remained both constant and joyous. She lightened her tasks by fancying to herself that in waiting on her family she was serving Christ and his Apostles. At last her parents relented and provided her with a cell in the basement, where she lived as a hermit for three years. There she experienced spiritual consolation and desolations and emerged finally into the highest mystic state, the unitive life, in which her soul was united to God.

She then began an active life of caring for the sick and poor. She believed it was not her vocation to enter a convent and became a member of the Third Order of the Dominicans. A band of disciples gathered about her. She acted as peacemaker between quarreling families, first at Siena and then elsewhere in Italy. Her powers along these lines became so famous that in time she was employed in making peace between states. She made so many personal conversions that priests had to accompany her to hear the confessions of those whose hearts she touched. In 1375 she received the stigmata, but the wounds, at her request, did not become visible till after her death.

In 1376 she was sent by citizens of Florence to Avignon to make their peace with the Pope. These negotiations failed. But Catherine made such a strong impression on the Pope, Gregory XI, that he heeded her plea to return to Rome. The French king and the Cardinals tried to prevent this, but Catherine was able to maintain her influence over him and to hold him to his determination. In January 1377 he went to Rome and the "Babylonian Captivity" came to an end. Catherine accompanied the Pope and helped establish him in Rome and the Papal States. The next year she went to Florence to reopen negotiations with the citizens on behalf of the Pope. After the death of Gregory, peace was successfully concluded with his successor, Urban VI. Catherine then returned to Rome to help him reform the Church. The Papal Schism broke out at this time. Catherine remained faithful to Urban, but the turmoil in the Church broke her heart and

sapped her remaining strength. She died in 1380 at the age of only thirty-three.

2. The Papal Schism (1378-1417)

When Gregory XI died about a year after his return to Rome, there was great excitement over the election of his successor. The people of Rome were determined that the new Pope should remain in that city. They broke into the room where the Cardinals were meeting and demanded that a Roman be elected Pope. The Cardinals said the election must be made according to proper form on the next day and finally cleared out the crowd. All night the mob outside the palace shouted, "A Roman Pope!"

Under these conditions the Cardinals, refusing to elect a Roman, decided it was wise to elect an Italian. They chose the Archbishop of Bari, who took the name of Urban VI. There was wild confusion when the election was announced, but the Cardinals succeeded in getting to places of safety. The people ultimately accepted the election. On the following Easter the new Pope was crowned, and all the French Cardinals in Rome took part in the ceremony. Whether or not the original election had been forced by mob violence, all the Cardinals concerned accepted it as valid after they had had an opportunity to denounce it.

Urban VI, however, turned out to be an unfortunate choice. Before his election he had been humble, austere and a learned scholar. His humility vanished when he became Pope. Determined to reform the Church, he started on the Cardinals and treated them with tactless arrogance, insulting them repeatedly.

The French Cardinals retired to Anagni. They declared the election of Urban invalid because it was forced. Urban continued to make enemies, including the Queen of Naples, who at first supported him. Urban suddenly created twenty-six new Cardinals. The Italians who were already Cardinals went over to the French. Finally in September 1378 all the Cardinals who had elected Urban declared his election invalid. Then they proceeded to elect a French Pope, who took the name Clement VII and established himself at Avignon. At first only France, Naples and Scotland backed the Avignon Pope, but eventually the kingdoms of Spain were won to his side. The rest of Europe backed the Roman Pope.

The Papal Schism did even more damage to papal prestige than the "Babylonian Captivity." There had been anti-popes before, but they had lasted only for short periods. Now there were two successions of

Popes, each entrenched in a papal palace, each with sufficient backing to ensure its continuation. The scandal of rival Popes condemning each other and cancelling each other's acts produced confusion and scorn. In the light of papal claims, the Church, the Body of Christ, had become a monstrosity with two heads.

It soon became clear that neither side would yield to the other. Something had to be done to force a solution. An old concept, which the Popes at least since St. Leo in the fifth century had been trying to stamp out, was revived. It was that a General Council is superior to the Pope. This idea had already been expressed at the time of the "Babylonian Captivity" in a remarkable work by Marsiglio of Padua called *Defender of the Peace*, published in 1324. Marsiglio expounded the modern concept of the state with the ruler governing with the consent of the people, asserted the independence of the state from the Church and insisted that only a council can interpret doctrine and pronounce excommunication on heretics. The Pope, accordingly, is subject to the decisions of councils and can only function through them.

These ideas were revived as the only solution of the Papal Schism. Some of the French and Italian Cardinals who were disgusted at their respective Popes got together and called a council that met at Pisa in 1409. They deposed both the Roman and Avignon Popes and elected a third. The two other Popes refused to acquiesce, however, and as the Avignon Pope kept the support of Spain and Scotland, and the Roman Pope kept the support of Rome, Naples and parts of Germany, they were able to maintain themselves. England, France and parts of Italy and Germany supported the Pisan Pope. So the Church had now three Popes.

The Pisan Pope, John XXIII, was prevailed upon by the Emperor to call a council that met at Constance in 1414. John expected to control the council by a huge Italian delegation, but was frustrated because it was decided that the nations should vote separately, each nation having but one vote. John then left the council. He was deposed and lost the support of the nations that had backed him. The Roman Pope resigned. The Avignon Pope refused to do this, but the support of Spain and Scotland was weaned away from him. He was deposed. In justifying these depositions the Council of Constance declared itself and all General Councils to be superior to the Pope. The Cardinals with representatives from each nation proceeded to elect a new Pope, Martin V.

The council had already tried John Hus and, in spite of the

promise to him of a safe return home, burned him at the stake.¹ It now turned to the discussion of reforms. Martin V, however, was able to play the nations off against each other, thereby preventing it from making any. It finally adjourned in 1418, demanding that a council to reform the Church be called five years later.

The council called in 1423 was unable to meet because of the plague. Such pressure was brought to bear on the Pope that he called it again in 1431 to meet at Basel. This council was strongly anti-papal. It reaffirmed its superiority to the Pope and cut off most of the Papal revenues. The reforms were long overdue, but they left the Pope in an impossible position and he determined to wreck the council.

His opportunity came when the Eastern Emperor, who was hard pressed by the Turks, turned to the West for help. He asked to send representatives to discuss the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches. To meet the Greeks, the Pope transferred the council to Ferrara in 1438 and later to Florence. The majority refused to leave Basel. But those who did meet with the Greeks worked out in 1439 a formula, acceptable to all, which seemed to unite the Churches. This apparent success concentrated all the attention on the council in Florence. Basel and its reformers were quietly forgotten.

As usual the Eastern Church repudiated the agreement when its representatives returned. No military help was forthcoming from the West. Constantinople was captured by Turks in 1453 and the motive that inspired the negotiations was gone.

Meanwhile the Council of Basel continued to meet. In 1439 it deposed the Pope and elected its own. It attracted less and less support. Finally in 1449 it realized its cause was lost. Its Pope resigned. The council elected the reigning Pope as his successor and dispersed. The attempt to reform the Church by councils had failed.

It should be noted, however, that France achieved for itself the reforms of the Council of Basel by adopting the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438. Contributions to the Pope were reduced to about one-fifth of what he had formerly received. The control of the French Church in regard to ecclesiastical appointments, etc., was taken out of the Pope's hands. This legislation remained in force until 1516. At that time the Pope got back his revenues, but appointments were placed in the hands of the king, subject only to the Pope's automatic approval. The German princes also passed a Pragmatic Sanction in 1439, but it was never ratified by the Emperor and did not go into effect.

¹ See p. 198.

3. The Decay of the Church

The Papacy emerged from the period of the councils with all its claims intact. After 1417 there was once more one Pope recognized as head of the Church by all the West. When the Council of Florence was brought to an end in 1439 further appeals to councils were forbidden. Had the Popes seized this opportunity for spiritual leadership, using their position to reform the Church, all would have been well.

Instead the Popes, remembering the humiliations of the "Babylonian Captivity" and the Papal Schism, determined so to strengthen their position that the like could never happen again. To this end they set themselves up as Italian princes. Their policy had three basic objectives:

1. They sought to control and expand the Papal States. The Popes who did most along these lines, with the dates of their reigns, were Sixtus IV (1471-1484), who fought with Florence; Julius II (1503-1513), the most warlike of the Popes; and Leo X (1513-1521), who sought to achieve his ends more by diplomacy.

2. They beautified Rome by encouraging the artistic magnificence of the Renaissance. This process began with Nicholas V (1447-1455) and was vigorously pursued by Sixtus IV, who built the Sistine Chapel. Julius II encouraged Raphael and Michelangelo to paint their famous frescoes at the Vatican. He tore down the old St. Peter's and started the new because the former was not big enough to house his projected tomb. The tomb, however, was never completed.

3. Practically all the Popes tried to promote the interests of their relatives. The most flagrant example of this was Alexander VI (1492-1503), a Spaniard, who spent his pontificate arranging profitable marriages for his illegitimate daughter Lucrezia Borgia, and permitted his bastard son Cesare to try to make a principality for himself out of the Papal States.

All these enterprises demanded money and the Popes used every means to obtain it. Papal taxes were increased. Simony, the sale of Church offices, was commonplace. This meant they went to the highest bidder, the one who would unscrupulously make the most of his investments. Pardons and dispensations were sold to wealthy applicants at fabulous prices. Jubilee pilgrimages to Rome were arranged on every pretext. The sale of Masses and other Sacraments was encouraged.

The great device for extracting money from the lower classes was

the sale of indulgences. The theory of indulgences is that, whereas all souls are saved only through the work of Christ, the response of the saints has been so generous that through their merits and prayers they can help other souls. So far there is nothing inconsistent with Christian truth. But the Pope also claimed to be custodian of a treasury of merits and to be able to apply them to individual souls for the purpose of shortening their suffering in Purgatory.¹ This he would do for a fee. The preaching of indulgences was usually in the hands of the Friars and they sometimes made a shameless appeal to superstition. "Put a coin in the box" (the largest the traffic would bear) "and the soul of your mother will go straight to heaven."

The evil of these abuses was not only that they further impoverished the lower classes and gave the Church a reputation for greed. They undermined morality. The idea that salvation could be obtained by paying for Masses to be said which one did not attend, or by buying pardons and indulgences, encouraged the impression that it was not necessary to have any moral or prayer life of one's own.

Clerical life sank to the lowest ebb. The higher clergy were for the most part unscrupulous adventurers interested only in political power and luxurious living. The parish priests were sunk in ignorance. Many were flagrantly unfaithful to their vows of celibacy, openly living with their mistresses and children. They were further degraded by their inability to compete with the Friars, who took over most of their pastoral functions.

The Religious Orders also declined. There were several causes of this. First, there was the inevitable decrease in fervor from the height reached in the thirteenth century. Second, the Orders were freed from the control of local bishops and under the direct control of the Popes. During the period when the Papacy was in difficulty this supervision was exercised less adequately than usual. Third, there was the rivalry between the Orders, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans. They became more interested in scoring points off each other than in winning souls to Christ.

The most stunning blow to the Religious Orders, however, was the Black Death and other plagues that swept through Europe. In the fourteenth century in some places two-thirds to three-fourths of the

¹ The doctrine of Purgatory has been challenged, but it would seem to be inescapable. Heaven is the Vision of God and only the pure in heart can see him. The average soul is not pure in heart at death, and that experience cannot automatically make him so. He must be prepared for heaven by a process in which the results of sin are purged away. This is all that the doctrine of Purgatory asserts.

population were wiped out. The loss of life was heaviest among people between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. Monasteries found themselves with hardly any active members to carry on their works. They were desperately in need of recruits. To obtain them they put on high pressure campaigns and lowered standards.

Scholastic theology also declined in the fourteenth century. St. Thomas Aquinas came more and more to be considered the last word on all important questions. This forced those who sought a reputation for theological originality to engage in debating unimportant minor points. The leading theologian of the fourteenth century tried to dispose of these meaningless subtleties by simplifying Scholasticism. He was William of Occam (?-c.1349), an English Franciscan and disciple of Duns Scotus. Although he developed some important ideas, his critical attack on the various aspects of Scholasticism gave the impression of being destructive and sceptical, and tended to undermine it. He was associated with Marsiglio of Padua in his attack on the Papacy.

There were, of course, many devout souls in these times. Despair at the state of the Church, and the proximity of death because of the plagues concentrated the attention of many of them on the future life. There was a mystic movement which centered in Germany, but spread throughout the West. In England there was a school of mystics whose writings avoid the usual excesses and express a charming common sense. Chief among them are Walter Hilton (?-1396), an Augustinian canon who wrote *The Ladder of Perfection*; Dame Julian of Norwich (c.1342-1413?), a Benedictine nun who lived for years as a hermit and wrote *Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love*; and the unknown author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*.

In Holland were the Brethren of the Common Life. They were not monks. Each earned his own living, but they had a common purse, and spent their leisure in prayer and good works. The chief of this group was Thomas à Kempis (c.1380-1471), whose book *The Imitation of Christ*, stressing self-sacrifice and other-worldliness, is the most popular devotional book ever written.

It may seem strange to include such men and women of prayer in a section on the decay of the Church. Yet they belong here. They lived in a time when there was crying need for reform. They themselves were undoubtedly called to retire into the mystic life of prayer, as were the contemplatives of the twelfth century, in order to inspire others to reform the Church. But they had no disciples who carried out this work. Part of the reason was that their teaching and writings

put too much emphasis on withdrawing from the world. They did not really believe the evil of their days was curable and they did not move others to undertake the task. The spiritual energy these mystics should have generated was lost to the Church.

4. The Pre-Reformers

There were, however, throughout the Middle Ages, groups who tried to reform the Church. In the twelfth century, movements sprang up among the uneducated lower classes that aimed at purifying the Church. The Cathari were heretical from the start, being Manichaean in their belief that matter is evil. The Waldensians were simple ignorant folk who sought to recover Christian poverty. Both groups were inclined to reject the Church's Sacraments and clergy.

A campaign of persecution against these groups did much to stamp them out in the early thirteenth century.¹ But the decisive factor that robbed them of their support was the Friars' movement, which expressed their ideals more effectively and had the Church's endorsement and the strength of the Sacraments as well.

As the Orders of Friars declined in the fourteenth century and the corruption of the Church again became intolerable, ideas associated with these early groups revived. The first of the new reformers was John Wyclif (c.1320-1384), an Englishman who studied at Oxford and became a theologian of distinction. He was influenced by the writings of St. Augustine. In his early life he seems to have conformed to the teaching of the Church. But in 1376 he opened an attack on the Church's wealth and its interference with the state. His thesis was that God gives wealth and authority to be used aright. When it is misused it should be taken away. This position was not pleasing to the higher clergy. It was welcomed by certain elements in England that were jealous of the Church's wealth. They were influential enough to protect Wyclif for the time from the Church's condemnation.

Wyclif proceeded to go further. As his three main ideas were to characterize the Reformation in the sixteenth century, we shall try to analyze them here:

1. Shocked at the corruption of the clergy and the abuses of their authority and privileges, Wyclif sought to make the priestly office dependent on the moral character of the priest. Hence an unworthy priest could not validly minister. The claims of bishops to be the sole conveyors through Ordination of the priests' authorization to

¹ Small groups of the Waldensians survived, however, and were absorbed by the Calvinists in the sixteenth century.

celebrate the Eucharist were declared without foundation. We can sympathize with Wyclif's desire to produce sincere and worthy ministers. But the means he chose were fatal to the continuity of Christ's activity through his Body the Church. Christ acts in the Sacraments only because the priest is Christ's agent by virtue of the authority given him in Ordination. This authority rests on Christ, not on the priest's moral character. The fact that the priest has this office whatever his moral character makes it more important that his life be worthy of his office. But to say that the priest functions on the basis of his moral character implies that the priest ministers in his own strength. This position undermines the Sacraments and the emphasis is shifted from them to preaching. Thus Wyclif sent out his "poor priests," usually laymen, to preach the Gospel.

2. Wyclif also wanted to eliminate the idea that salvation could be attained by mere membership in the Church, and by a routine of religious practice which hardly rose above the level of magic. This concept, fostered by the corrupt clergy who found it easier to control the people and get money out of them if they were left the prey of ignorance and superstition, Wyclif condemned. In this he was right; but in his cure he went to the opposite extreme. He developed the idea of the Church of the elect—that the only true members of the Church were the souls God had chosen and who had the power to live sincere Christian lives. This destroyed the objective character of the Church and its function as a hospital for sinners.

3. Wyclif believed that the best method of overcoming ignorance and superstition was to put the Bible into the hands of the people. He had the first English translation of the whole Bible made. This was a step in the right direction. But his insistence that the Bible was the only source of authority and that Tradition is of little value overlooked the fact that the Bible does not interpret itself. In the hands of untrained people it was likely to become a source of heresy.

Wyclif's followers were called Lollards. At first he met with success. But in 1381 he attacked the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Also the peasants revolted, possibly inspired in part by his attack on authority. Both these occurrences cost him friends, and in 1382 the Archbishop of Canterbury's court condemned his writings. Wyclif himself was still too popular to be attacked. He retired to his rectory, where he died a natural death in 1384. The Lollards were subsequently suppressed.

Wyclif's great disciple was John Hus (c. 1373-1415), a Bohemian,¹

¹In 1383 Richard II of England married Anne of Bohemia. Many Bohemian scholars began to attend Oxford, and some took Wyclif's works home with them.

who in 1409 became for the second time rector of the University of Prague. He was much influenced by the writings of Wyclif, which he translated. He began to preach reform and soon had a large following and the support of the King of Bohemia. The Pope condemned him and the Emperor persuaded him to attend the Council of Constance under promise that he could return to Prague in safety. Hus expounded his views to the council and refused to submit to their judgment. It was more for his disobedience than for heresy that the council condemned and burned him at the stake in 1415.

The disciples of Hus in Bohemia were subjected to severe persecution but they survived till the Reformation and became one of the Protestant Churches. Through the work of Nicholas Zinzendorf (1700-1760) they had a great revival. They are known as the Moravians and are especially devoted to missions.

All the reformers did not revolt from the Church, however. St. Bernadine of Siena (1380-1444), a son of a noble family, became a Franciscan in 1402. In 1417 he began a career as a mission preacher in the cities of Italy. His success was enormous. Great crowds would turn out to hear him preach each morning at daybreak. Many would be moved to penitence and at his bidding would cast their jewelry, cosmetics, playing cards, etc., into a bonfire. He instituted the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus. Because of his popularity, he was accused of heresy, but was vindicated. He remained a loyal son of the Church. In 1438 he was elected vicar-general of the Franciscan Observants. Four years later he persuaded the Pope to accept his resignation as vicar-general. He returned to his preaching and died, exhausted by his labors, in 1444.

Savonarola (1452-1498), a Dominican, began a mission in Florence in 1490. He became prior of the local Dominican house, where he instituted reform. The people were greatly moved by his preaching and a wave of penitence swept over the city. In 1494 the people drove out the Medici, the ruling family of the city, whom Savonarola had attacked. A theocratic republic was set up of which he was the real ruler. He now began to attack the corruption of the Pope, who was the infamous Alexander VI. This brought his excommunication, but his friends in Florence saved him from attack. In 1498, however, the people of Florence, who were weary of his somewhat Puritan righteousness, turned against him. He was arrested by the city government, tortured to extract a confession of heresy, hanged and his body burned.

See Review Outline VIII. The Middle Ages.

CHAPTER VIII

The Reformation

A. BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMATION

1. The Rise of Nationalism

THE REFORMATION was more than an effort to revive the decaying Church and to correct its abuses. Progress along these lines, slow but nonetheless real, was being made during the fifteenth century. It might in time have put the Church back on its feet without any revolutionary break with the past. What stopped this development and turned the Church into new channels was a series of movements which came to their full power at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They changed the course of history and founded a new culture which has lasted till our own day. Hence it is customary to date modern history from 1500.

The first of these new movements to arise was nationalism. Feudal society was essentially international. It was divided horizontally by classes, not vertically by nations. At the top were the nobles and knights. The territory which each of them governed grew or diminished depending on his success in war and on his ability to make profitable marriage alliances. Frequently a noble's holdings were scattered about in different places and did not form a geographical unity. The knights and nobles formed a class by themselves, wandering around engaged in wars and tournaments, and feeling a closer kinship with each other than they did with the people who inhabited the territories which they governed.

Scholars formed another international class. It was a normal cus-

tom for students to move from one university to another. Those who spent their life teaching would usually do so in many different and widely separated places. Merchants by the very nature of their trade had to do much traveling and formed another class, which as we shall see grew in numbers and importance in the later Middle Ages. The serfs, the peasant class who tilled the soil, were attached to the land. This meant they had to remain in the place where they were born, and when the territory changed hands they went with it as part of the property. They could not, therefore, travel about. But they felt a closer bond with the other serfs throughout Europe than they did with their overlords.

Above all, the Church was an international society. The clergy and all the lay servants of the Church were independent of the local state. They could not be tried in secular courts, but only in the courts of the Church. The Church had its own government through bishops with a single international head, the Pope. The clergy moved freely from place to place. It should be noted also that the Church provided the one escape from the rigidity of the feudal system. The son of a serf had to remain a serf if he stayed in secular life. But an ambitious and talented serf could become a monk, rise to be abbot or bishop and thus become a spiritual noble.

By the thirteenth century, however, the modern languages of Europe were taking form. The use of each language extended over a definite geographical area. People in that area could understand each other; many of them could not understand the language of the surrounding areas. With the language went other cultural tastes and habits. This produced a sense of geographical kinship which gradually became stronger than the older class solidarity.

We have seen that St. Louis IX was able in the thirteenth century to unite his kingdom (which, however, included only part of modern France) on the basis of this new feeling of nationalism. In both England and France this movement received great stimulus from the so-called Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). The origin of this conflict was purely feudal. It arose out of quarrels between vassals of the English and French kings and the claims of the English king to the French throne based on marriage alliances. Yet at the end of the war England and France were nations in the modern sense of the word.

The English were at first successful, winning the battles of Crecy in 1346 and Poitiers in 1356. There followed a long period of fluctuation in the tide of war and of stalemate. In 1415, Henry V of England landed in Normandy and won the battle of Agincourt. This

heroic victory against tremendous odds made Henry the hero of English nationalism. He continued his victories till his death in 1422. By 1428 the English army had conquered most of France and was besieging Orleans. That city was about to fall and with it the last hope of the French king when it was rescued by the girl who became the heroine of France.

St. Joan of Arc (1411?-1431) was a peasant girl born in Domremy. She seems to have been a normal child, though perhaps exceptionally devout. She never learned to read or write, but was skilful at household tasks. When she was about thirteen she began to hear voices speaking to her, and on occasions saw the speakers, whom she recognized as St. Michael the Archangel, Saints Catherine and Margaret and others. Joan was always reluctant to speak about her voices, but it is hard to doubt their supernatural reality.

By 1428 her voices convinced her that it was her vocation to save France. It was not until the following year, however, that she was able to reach the king. By picking him out of the crowd of courtiers among whom he had hid himself she won his confidence. Joan was first subjected to an investigation by a committee of bishops. When they cleared her of heresy she was permitted to join the army.

In an amazingly short time she won the confidence of the soldiers, aroused their national spirit and improved their morals. She entered Orleans and so inspired the army that the siege was raised. At Joan's insistence this was followed up by a campaign which included the victory of Patay and ended with the French king being crowned at Rheims in 1429.

During the next summer's fighting Joan was captured and held prisoner by John of Luxemburg. The French king did nothing to help her. She was sold to the English who were determined to put her to death. She was tried by a Church court for witchcraft and heresy. All during her imprisonment and trial she was deprived of all comfort and help. She had to conduct her own defence against the best theologians and canon lawyers. Again and again she confounded them. Her appeal to the Pope was ignored. She was at last condemned, forced to retract, inveigled into committing again the offense of wearing man's attire and burned at the stake in 1431.

St. Joan crystallized French nationalism, which drove out the English after her death. Other nations were taking shape at the same time. Spanish nationalism was fostered by the war against the Mohammedans. Spain was united by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1469. The Scandinavian countries were becoming

nations. Nationalism also developed in Germany and Italy, but both were prevented from becoming nations until the nineteenth century. The conflict of the many princes who made up the Holy Roman Empire kept Germany divided. The Papal States, lying across the center of Italy, effectively separated the north and south of that country.

This rising nationalism was bound to come into conflict with the international Church. We have already seen how the Council of Constance was organized along national lines, and how by the Pragmatic Sanction France was able to resist papal taxes and control in the fourteenth century. By 1500 the pressure of nationalism on the Church was stronger than ever throughout Europe.

2. The Renaissance

The trade with the East which had been stimulated by the Crusades continued throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages. The trade routes entered Europe chiefly through the Italian cities, especially Venice and Genoa, crossed the Alps and went down the Rhine to the cities of the Hanseatic League on the North Sea. All these cities prospered and produced a wealthy class who were prepared to spend money on culture. As the Italians were conveying the trade across the Mediterranean from the eastern ports, they were in contact with Greek thought and literature. It was among them that the Renaissance, inspired by the culture of ancient Greece, first appeared.

We have seen that the thirteenth century achievement was also stimulated by Greek thought in the form of a Latin translation of the works of Aristotle. Thanks to the work of St. Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas, this new learning was reconciled to and incorporated in the theology of the Church. Instead therefore of undermining the Church in the thirteenth century, the recovery of the works of Aristotle gave form and expression to its thought.

The new Renaissance was stimulated by the philosophy of Plato and the literature of classical Greece which was read in the West not only in translation but in the original as well. For beginning with Boccaccio (1313-1375) the study of Greek was promoted first in Italy and then in other countries. This was further encouraged by the visit of the Greeks to the Council of Florence in 1438-9 and by the flight of scholars from Constantinople when the city fell to the Turks in 1453. By this time the study of Greek was the rage among the educated people in Italy.

For the most part in Italy, pagan Greek literature was studied for

its own sake. This was true even when the scholars were patronized by the Church, or when they themselves were Church officials. Thus, the Italian Renaissance was a secular movement indifferent, if not hostile, to Christianity. Philosophy, politics, literature were studied and developed on the basis of Plato and Greek models with no reference to Christian theology or moral standards. The interest centered on man himself, not in his relationship to God, and this in turn fostered a way of life that was pagan in its preconceptions.

There were, of course, exceptions. Some studied Greek in order better to understand the Christian documents. Lorenzo Valla (c.1405-1457) made in 1444 a comparison between the text of the Vulgate and the original Greek New Testament. He also was the one who exposed the Donation of Constantine as forgery. Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) advocated the study of Hebrew to get back to the original of the Old Testament. The pagan trend of the Renaissance in Italy was too strong for these scholars to have much influence there. Their work was carried on in northern Europe, where the new learning was welcomed for the light it shed on Christianity.

The Renaissance produced magnificent achievements in the fine arts—painting, sculpture, architecture and music. We have only to mention among the Italians such names as Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, Cellini and Palestrina. The movement reached the other countries of Europe somewhat later but produced in them corresponding masterpieces in literature and art.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were also producing a series of inventions which were revolutionizing the way of life. First among these should be noted the use of gunpowder in war. Under the feudal system the knights were the warriors; their castles were the strongholds in which they protected and ruled their domains. Even before the introduction of gunpowder, however, the inefficiency of heavily-armed knights as fighters was becoming apparent. Henry V won the Battle of Agincourt by the skillful use of his archers against the knights in their cumbersome armor. Gunpowder finished them off. Their armor was no protection against this new weapon, and cannons made even their castles vulnerable.

Fighting passed into the hands of the foot-soldier and the artilleryman. Generals still directed the campaigns and took the credit. But they had to have soldiers to do their fighting and these were drawn chiefly from the lower classes. As warfare became more technical, a professional soldier class was developed. Even generals had to be trained in the art of war and were not always drawn from the noble

class. Towns could arm their citizens for their defense and were no longer the prey to robber barons. The knights' hold on society was broken.

Home life was becoming more pleasant and comfortable. Chimneys and glass windows were introduced into houses. In the early Middle Ages even the castles were drafty barns; the houses of the poor were smoke-filled hovels. With these new inventions a humble cottage became a home. Nor was this all. Mechanical clocks introduced order and regularity. Spectacles prolonged sight. New processes made manufactured goods available in larger quantities. All these and many others made life in this world more livable.

Perhaps the most important of these new inventions was the printed book, which began to appear about the middle of the fifteenth century. Two discoveries combined to make it possible. The first was cheap paper; the second, movable type. Formerly manuscripts had to be copied by hand. They were rare, expensive and inaccurate. As the majority of copyists were monks, the Church largely controlled the output. The printing press, on the other hand, could make thousands of identical copies. Printing became a secular trade.

Cheap books were an aid to education, to the spread of the new learning, to the circulation of ideas and discoveries, to the production of literature. Anyone with anything to say could say it to more people in a more permanent form through the printed page than he could by talking or by manuscript. But printing has not proved to be an unmitigated blessing. For bad ideas are just as easy to print as good ones and unfortunately there are more of them.

Another series of inventions expanded the geography of the known world. The compass and other nautical instruments extended the range of navigation. They were utilized to the full by Prince Henry of Portugal (1394-1460), who sent ships to explore the west coast of Africa. Finally Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1486 and Vasco da Gama reached India by this route in 1498. Meanwhile Columbus had discovered America in 1492. These explorations opened up a new and wonderful world into which adventurers poured in quest of wealth and fame.

Exploration was not confined to the earth. Copernicus (1473-1543) worked out a clearer conception of the solar system. This was confirmed by Galileo (1564-1642), the inventor of the telescope, and other astronomical discoveries were made by him.

The effect of the Renaissance on men's thinking was revolutionary. Medieval man, to be sure, had his zest for life. Yet life was hard and

uncertain. It was easy for him to think of this world as a place of exile through which he was journeying to his heavenly home. Other-worldliness was certainly not the constant attitude of every man and woman in the Middle Ages. Many of them lived selfish and worldly lives. But it was a prevailing idea, never seriously challenged even when it was disregarded. The Renaissance changed all that. This world became a more comfortable, exciting place. Man became interested in himself, proud of his achievement, hopeful that he could create for himself a brave new world on earth. His attention was increasingly absorbed by the things of this world.

3. The Rise of the Middle Class

Feudal society, apart from the officials and servants of the Church, had two main classes. At the top were the nobles and knights, the rulers and warriors. At the bottom were the serfs, the peasants who tilled the soil and performed the menial tasks. The Middle Class, merchants and skilled artisans, was relatively small and unimportant.

As trade increased throughout the Middle Ages the merchants became more numerous and wealthy. In order to carry on their business they needed a place where their goods would be safe from pillage and destruction. They gathered into towns and demanded that these towns be freed from dependence on the nobility. To this end they sought and obtained charters which made them free, self-governing cities under the Emperor or king. In Italy they rose in the fifteenth century to city states.

The merchants also wanted peace. This caused them to back the king and a strong central government that could keep the nobles in order. They were vigorous supporters of the rising nationalism. A nation, peacefully subject to its king, was an excellent market for their wares and an area from which they could get the capital for their enterprises. In return for their support of the king they strove for control over the levying of taxes.

The inventions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries increased the numbers in the Middle Class. Skilled workmen were needed in all the guilds to make the articles which were increasingly in demand. Towns grew in population. Many of the recruits were serfs who had run away from the farms. This in turn produced a shortage of labor in agriculture which made the serfs more valuable and permitted them to demand better standards. All these adjustments resulted in confusion and unrest.

The prevailing outlook of the Middle Class was mercantilism. This

was the tendency to subordinate everything to the interest of trade. It was a philosophy hard to reconcile with certain aspects of Christianity. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth." But mercantilism was destined to become dominant and Christianity had to adjust itself to it. An example of this is the definition of the sin of usury. In the Middle Ages it meant simply the taking of interest on money lent. In time it came to mean almost universally in Christian circles the taking of exorbitant interest.

As early as the sixteenth century the merchant class found their interests in conflict with the Church on several points. They looked on the wealth of a nation as the source of capital for their enterprises. Vast amounts of this wealth were in the hands of the Church and were not available for trade. The monasteries with their enormous holdings were the chief offenders in this regard. For example, in London a large area of the riverbanks suitable for docks was owned by the Church. The merchants cast a covetous eye on this property, which from their point of view was being wasted.

Again much of the nation's wealth was being sent out of the country in the form of papal taxes and fees. The Middle Class were opposed to this. We have seen how by the Pragmatic Sanction the papal revenues from France were drastically cut in the fifteenth century. Any such steps in other countries could be sure of middle class support.

Then there was the matter of holy days, which were also holidays. A master workman did not like to see his apprentices and journeymen getting so many days off. We shall find Christian groups controlled largely by the Middle Class eliminating or curtailing holy days.

One middle class attitude which was to have profound influence on religion was their attachment to the written word. A farmer is dependent on the weather and other forces of nature. These he cannot control, still less make a contract with them. On the whole he finds them dependable. The seasons follow each other in regular order. If he does his part to co-operate with nature, he reaps his crop. But he has to act on faith. Nature is not absolutely dependable. There are floods and droughts, which come unexpectedly and from no preventable cause. They are "acts of God" and introduce a note of mystery into his dealings with nature. He must accept them with humble submission.

But the city-dwelling tradesman is not dealing with these ordered yet mysterious forces of nature. He is trading with other selfish sinful men many of whom will try to get the better of him. His only

protection is to have the terms of his agreements in writing. They must be set down clearly in black and white, signed, sealed and kept for reference, or if necessary, for legal action. As far as possible the unexpected, the mysterious must be eliminated.

Men accustomed to such transactions want the same in their religion. They naturally prefer a written statement of what they are required to believe and do. Hence the Bible, the written Word of God, grows in importance in their eyes. Traditions, in so far as they are accepted, must be formulated and clearly defined. The Sacraments, those mysterious acts of God, seem less dependable. This represents a shift of emphasis from the medieval type of religion in which the average illiterate Christian depended primarily on Sacraments for his contact with God.

The attachment to the written word was a stimulus to education. Not only did the merchant want to be able to read, write and figure in order to carry on his business; he had also a respect for book-learning. Schools and universities multiplied. At first education remained in the hands of the Church. But there was a new and growing class of students. In the Middle Ages most scholars were preparing for a Church career. Now many were preparing for the learned professions or for business. As this class increased they began to replace the clergy as state officials. It was inevitable in time that they would take over education itself. Thus secular education was on the way.

The Middle Class gained varying degrees of importance in different countries. In the trading cities of Italy the ruling prince merchants became so powerful and wealthy that they passed over into the nobility. In Holland the Middle Class gained control and established the independence of the country both from Spain and from the Roman Church. The Middle Class in Germany became strong enough to protect its interests, though not to dominate the situation. France saw the growing Middle Class temporarily crushed by the struggles of the Reformation. In Spain, where the new wealth was obtained from the Americas more through conquest by knights than through trade by merchants, the Middle Class developed more slowly.

In England the Middle Class came rapidly into its own. The Wars of the Roses (1455-1485) killed off most of the higher nobility. The Tudor family, which came to the throne at their conclusion in the person of Henry VII, was so low in the scale of nobility as to be almost middle class. Parliament, of which the House of Commons reflected the middle class attitude, was gaining in importance. The Tudors looked to Parliament for their support. When in the seven-

teenth century Charles I turned against Parliament, it was strong enough to overthrow the monarchy for a time.

4. Individualism

All these new movements combined to produce the attitude of individualism, in which the individual rather than society is the factor of primary interest and concern. In the feudal system the only channel through which one not born to the nobility could raise his social position was the Church. Even in the Church it was difficult. Most of the bishops were younger sons of noble families who were wealthy and powerful enough to buy their offices. Many of those who rose from the lower classes to importance in the Church did so on the basis of sanctity. This holiness had, as its primary prerequisite, a humble self-surrender, which is the direct opposite of the pushing ambition of the self-made man, the rugged individual.

As the national state developed and began to draw its officials from other sources than the clergy, the opportunities for a man to rise increased. A skilful soldier could, with the backing of middle class wealth, rise to a position of command. A lawyer or the son of a merchant could become a prominent minister of state. An adventurer could build himself a fortune by trade or conquest in the newly discovered lands. Successful merchants or master craftsmen could so ingratiate themselves with the nobility that they might make marriage alliances with them and obtain a peerage themselves. Literature, the arts, science and discovery gave ambitious persons an opportunity to become famous for the exercise of their talents. Individuals could and did rise to prominence apparently through their own unaided efforts. More and more people were trying to achieve this. It became the accepted thing to do.

The assertion that in the Renaissance the emphasis is on the individual whereas in the Middle Ages it had been on society is one of those broad generalizations which it is easy to exaggerate and difficult to prove. Countless exceptions on both sides can be noted. The contrast was not absolute nor did the change in emphasis take place all at once. Nevertheless, it is a useful generalization pointing to a fundamental difference in the tone of culture that predominated before and after let us say the year 1500. It helps us understand some of the changes that took place in the Church at that time.

We can see the difference by contrasting the medieval and renaissance achievements in various fields. Take first the field of art. The Gothic cathedrals were the crowning glory of the twelfth and thir-

teenth centuries. They were the co-ordinated work of hundreds of craftsmen of several generations. We know the names of few individuals who contributed to them. This is not because of lost records, but because no one person dominated the undertaking. It was a team enterprise in which most of the town participated. The cathedrals were raised first to the glory of God and second to the glory of the town. The artists were offering their best and did not demand a place of prominence. Poking about in dark hidden corners, one frequently discovers exquisite bits of carving.

Contrast St. Peter's, Rome, ordered by Julius II to provide a big enough place to house his tomb and designed by Michelangelo. The dome over the crossing is interesting. Its dimensions are those of the ancient Pantheon. The Romans built the latter on the ground. Michelangelo went them one better. He built it up in the air. St. Peter's is the largest church in the world. Magnificent as it is, there is an air of pretentiousness about it. Individuals were showing off their skill.

Turn to literature and contrast Dante with Milton. *The Divine Comedy* is the whole of moral, ascetic and mystical theology expressed in matchless poetry. Its theme is the process of redemption of the human race. There is no human hero. Dante journeys through hell, purgatory and heaven chiefly in the role of a reporter. He meets innumerable persons but they all stand in subordinate relationship to the central theme. The epic ends with the majestic picture of the whole company of the blessed.

Milton's *Paradise Lost* also deals with sin and redemption. Its theology is controversially sectarian. The villain of the piece is the devil. He is, however, the most clearly defined individual. As such he so captivates Milton's interest that he is only with difficulty prevented from becoming the hero.

Drama provides the same contrast. *Everyman* is one of the famous medieval morality plays. Its hero, as the name implies, is anyone. Its theme is a human soul confronted with death. Shakespeare's Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, King Lear, on the other hand, are clearly defined individuals. They are exactly like no one else and their catastrophe stems from specific weaknesses in their own characters.

We find a like difference in hymns. Contrast the objectivity of the old Latin hymn for Advent,

Creator of the stars of night,
Thy people's everlasting light,
Jesu, Redeemer, save us all,
And hear thy servants when they call.

Thou, grieving that the ancient curse
Should doom to death an universe,
Hast found the medicine, full of grace,
To save and heal a ruined race.

with the subjective outpourings of the later age in such hymns as "When I survey the wondrous Cross," "O, Jesus I have promised," and "Just as I am without one plea."

We find the same contrast in the field of thought. To the medieval mind philosophy was the handmaid of theology. A great philosopher like St. Thomas Aquinas was first a great theologian. He was not seeking a brilliant new philosophy. He used philosophy as an aid to understanding divine truth. He depended more on revelation than on reason. In the end he left his writings incomplete as he bowed in adoration before the inexpressible mystery that had been revealed to him.

At the Renaissance, philosophy is separated from theology. The divorce becomes so complete that some have maintained that the Middle Ages could produce no philosophy because of the dominance of theology. The modern philosopher tries to devise his theory of the universe depending solely on his own reason. His name is inseparably and rightly attached to it. For it is his brain-child.

Finally we turn to the state. The medieval king is an absolute autocrat. Surely this looks like individualism rampant. It is true that many medieval rulers were selfish, ruthless tyrants. These were not, however, the medieval ideal. St. Louis IX was that. A king who was humbly obedient to the Church, fed beggars with his own hands, sacrificed more than he needed in the interest of justice, scrupulously paid his ransom when he could have gone back on his word, and devoted his chief efforts to Crusades aimed at conquests not for himself but for Christ, does not measure up to the standards of individualism.

The Renaissance, on the other hand, produced Machiavelli's *The Prince*. It is advice to a ruler on how to exercise autocratic power. All other considerations—morality, reputation, honesty—are to be subordinated to this one objective, which is to be attained by all means fair and foul. There was nothing new in the intrigues, cruelty and ruthlessness he advocates. Medieval rulers had practised them to the full. What was new was the open and shameless advocacy of them as the ideal. And those tyrants who have followed his advice—Henry VIII, Louis XIV, Napoleon, Hitler, Mussolini, to name but a few—have been acclaimed by a vast circle of admirers.

We shall see that individualism, which has dominated culture in the West since the Renaissance, had a profound effect on all branches of Christianity. Today the pendulum seems to be swinging back and the emphasis shifting once more to society. If this is true, we may find that those elements in the Church which have their origin in individualism, and which have been accepted without question during the centuries when individualism held sway, will lose their apparently unchallengeable position.

B. THE REFORMERS

1. The Humanists

The scholars who first introduced the new learning into northern Europe were inspired by Lorenzo Valla and Pico della Mirandola. Their interest in it was for the light it would cast on the documents of the Christian religion. Jacques Lefèvre (c.1455-1536) introduced it into France. One of the early English pioneers was John Colet (1467?-1519). From 1496-1504 he was lecturing at Oxford, using the new approach to the Epistles of St. Paul. In 1505 he became Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and in 1509 founded St. Paul's School, establishing there an educational reform. The study of Greek had already been introduced at Oxford by Thomas Linacre (c.1460-1524) before Colet started lecturing there. In Germany John Reuchlin (1455-1522) began the study of Hebrew in order better to understand the Old Testament.

These men and their numerous disciples are known as the Humanists. They were not in revolt against the Church. They did see in the new learning, however, an instrument that would help to reform the abuses of the day by dispelling the ignorance on which they thrived. They wanted to let some fresh air into theology and to attain a clearer understanding of the Bible. But they were loyal to the Faith and had no desire to change the structure of the Church.

Chief among the northern Humanists was Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). Born in Holland, an illegitimate child, he was sent to a school in Deventer, where a noted Humanist was teaching. Erasmus' brilliant mind was given good training and he became devoted to the new learning. In 1484 his guardians placed him in a monastery school which he found intolerably stuffy. He wandered about for a while. Then his guardians insisted he enter a house of Canons Regular. The house, eager to capture so promising a recruit, at first relaxed all rules in his favor and encouraged him to pursue his studies. He felt no vocation to the Religious Life but he finally took his vows. Further

study was denied him. He was soon thoroughly unhappy. He was ordained priest in 1492.

Erasmus was rescued from his monastery by the Bishop of Cambrai, who made him his secretary in 1494, and sent him to Paris for further study in 1495. There Scholasticism disgusted him and he spent most of his time traveling about. In 1499 he went to England, where he met Colet and the other Humanists at Oxford. Colet encouraged him to study the Bible and showed him how he could hold the Faith without accepting scholastic theology. He returned to Paris to devote himself to the study of Greek. In 1506-9 he made a trip to Italy, visiting the famous universities and making a favorable impression on several Cardinals including the one who was to become Pope Leo X. The latter urged him to remain in Rome, but as Henry VIII, a patron of the new learning, had just come to the throne of England, Erasmus decided to return to that country, where he expected an appointment to some Church office.

In this he was disappointed although he remained in England for five years. He then started traveling about Europe, enjoying the patronage of many important people but never settling down to any permanent work. He was released by the Pope from his obligations to his monastery. He spent his time in study and writing. His main published works fall in two classes. First, there was his edition of the Greek New Testament, 1516, which forms the basis of modern biblical scholarship. This was followed by editions of the early Fathers. Second, there were his violent satires against the abuses of the Church, such as *In Praise of Folly*. They were written, no doubt, to stimulate reform. Had his satire been less biting, however, he might have won more friends for the new learning and the humanist movement. As it was, his denunciations were so sweeping that they were welcomed mostly by the Protestant reformers whom he probably inspired to revolt against the Church.

Conservative theologians attacked him. He continued to enjoy the support of the Pope, however, and remained loyal to the Church. Erasmus repudiated the Protestant reformers. This cost him their friendship. His efforts to get the Pope to institute reforms failed. A lonely and disappointed man, Erasmus died in 1536.

The great English Humanist was St. Thomas More (1478-1535), a friend of Colet and Erasmus. He was the son of a London lawyer and went to Oxford, where he imbibed the new learning. On returning to London he studied and then taught law. For a while he considered entering the Carthusians, but in the end decided he had no vocation

to the Religious Life, married and had four children. When his first wife died he married again. More was a man of great devotion and his home a model of Christian family life. His writings, such as *Utopia*, make him the first master of modern English prose.

More was a friend and favorite of Henry VIII. After the latter became king in 1509, More rose steadily in a state career. In his advice to the king at this time, More discouraged Henry from so zealously advancing the Pope's political claims. He urged the king to tone down his assertions of the Pope's authority in Henry's article against Luther written in 1521. When Wolsey fell from power in 1529, More succeeded him as Chancellor. He refused to have anything to do with the king's attempt to have his marriage annulled, and devoted himself to clearing up the cases before the king's court. When it became clear that Henry was going to break with the Pope and get the annulment, More resigned in 1532.

More realized that if the Church in England separated from the Pope there would be no check on the king's absolute will. For this reason he would never endorse that step. On the other hand, he consistently refused to say anything against it. But silence in so prominent a man would not satisfy the king. When More would not in 1534 swear the oath recognizing the children of Anne Boleyn as the legitimate successors to the throne, he was committed to the Tower. He bore his imprisonment in high spirits. He spent his time in writing and in preparing for death.

It was difficult to convict More of treason, since he would say nothing against the king. At last it was claimed that he had been tricked into a denunciation of the king's actions and on these grounds he was convicted. His last speech to his unjust judges is worth quoting: "More have I not to say, my Lords, but that like as the blessed apostle St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, was present, and consented to the death of St. Stephen, and kept their clothes that stoned him to death, and yet be they now both twain holy saints in Heaven, and shall continue there friends for ever, so I verily trust, and shall therefore right heartily pray, that though your Lordships have now here on earth been judges to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter in Heaven merrily all meet together, to our everlasting salvation."¹ On the scaffold where he was beheaded in 1535 More protested that he died "the king's servant, but God's first."

With More and Erasmus the hope of the Humanists to reform the

¹ Quoted in R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More*, p. 342.

Church without destroying it died. The correction of abuses by education was bound to be slow work. Events were moving too rapidly and these Catholic reformers who might have steered the Church safely through those difficult seas were swept aside.

2. Martin Luther (1483-1546)

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, Germany, the son of a peasant miner who had prospered. His upbringing was very harsh. Both his parents and his teachers believed that to spare the rod would spoil the child and they were vigorous in their efforts to prevent his spoiling. His parents would beat him for trifling faults till the blood flowed and on one day he was flogged fourteen times in school for mistakes in Latin declension. He did well in his studies, however, and was sent to the University of Erfurt where he received his bachelor's and master's degrees.

Fear was the dominant note in Luther's early religion. In addition to his harsh upbringing, he shared the popular conception of the time that pictured Christ as a stern Judge and the Virgin Mary pleading for mercy to sinners. Suddenly in 1505 Luther entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt. The reasons for this step are not known. One colorful story says he was caught in a thunderstorm and, fearing death, vowed to enter a monastery if his life was spared. Whether or not this is true, it is clear he became a monk more through fear than through a sense of vocation.

Luther was ordained priest in 1507 and continued his studies at the University of Wittenberg, getting his doctor's degree in 1512. He was a model monk, devout and conspicuous for his ascetic practices. Sent to Rome in 1510 on business of his Order, he was shocked at the luxury and corruption of the Church there. After getting his degree he became a lecturer on the Bible at Wittenberg. His theology was derived from Occam and St. Augustine. He became increasingly anti-scholastic.

In 1515 while pondering Romans 1: 17, "The just shall live by faith," he suddenly conceived the doctrine of justification by faith only. Man cannot save himself by his works,—neither by ascetic practices nor the receiving of Sacraments. Only God can save man and he has done so through the work of Christ. Man must accept salvation by uniting himself with the saving action of Christ. Good works will follow as a result, but they do not contribute in any way to man's salvation.

Luther was right in asserting that man is saved only through the work of Christ. His denial that man by his own works—prayer, ascetic practices, vows—can contribute to his own salvation is simply a rejection of Pelagianism. Luther's attack on the belief that the mere performance of ritual acts, or the payment of others to perform them for you, was an aid to salvation was long overdue. Such abuses reduced religion to magic.

Man is justified, i.e., saved, by faith in Christ. That is the foundation of the Christian life. Luther's mistake was his insistence that we are saved by faith only. Luther's dramatic conversion experience was so vivid to him that he tended to consider it in itself the whole process of salvation. He made provision, of course, for the life of sacraments, prayer and good works which follows conversion. But this was always secondary and in no way contributed to salvation. For him the one thing needful was an intense whole-hearted conversion such as he had experienced.

Another idea which Luther held tended further to undermine the sacramental aspects of Christian life. This was the "Priesthood of All Believers." Every Christian, according to Luther, shares equally in the Priesthood of Christ. Ministers have certain functions to perform, but they are not agents of Christ in any sense that does not apply equally well to every layman. Hence they have not received through the ceremony of ordination an objective commission which enables Christ to use them as his agents in ministering the Sacraments. This concept of the ministry which Luther held ultimately destroys the objectivity of the Sacraments. Sacramental validity must in this case depend on the subjective faith of the recipient, not on the objective authorization of the minister, since the minister has no such authorization. Luther himself refused to draw this conclusion, but other reformers who were more ruthlessly logical accepted and taught it.

Luther's conversion experience brought him great peace of soul. It released him from the necessity of continuing his severe and gloomy asceticism. It gave him a weapon against the corrupt medieval system of indulgences, pardons and bought masses. Soon Luther had an opportunity to attack a shameful abuse. The Pope for a large bribe permitted the same man to hold the Archbishopric of Mainz, the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the Bishopric of Halberstadt. In order to let this man recover the money he paid the Pope, the latter allowed an indulgence to be preached in the bishop's territories. The proceeds were to be split half and half by the bishop and the Pope.

The indulgence was preached by the Dominicans in the most corrupt way.¹

On October 31, 1517, Luther nailed his Ninety-five Theses on the door of Wittenberg castle church. This was the customary way in which one proposed a subject for debate. The Theses were a carefully worked out attack on the abuses of the sale of indulgences. Printed and distributed throughout Germany they aroused an enthusiastic agreement that made Luther a hero to those who sought Church reform. The purchase of indulgences practically ceased.

Luther had no intention at first of breaking with the Pope. He tried to get a favorable hearing at Rome. In 1518, after an interview with the Pope's chamberlain, he agreed to keep silent and wrote a submissive letter to the Pope. But the Dominicans would be satisfied with nothing less than a clear-cut victory over Luther. A debate took place at Leipzig in 1519 between Luther and the Dominican theologian, Eck. The latter forced Luther to assert that he would not accept the Pope's endorsement of indulgences and to claim that a universal council was the final authority in doctrine. Then Eck got Luther to admit that he accepted the teaching of John Hus. Now Hus had been condemned by the Council of Constance,² which was then reckoned as a universal council. Luther could no longer maintain that he recognized that authority. He had to take the position that authority in doctrine is the Word of God as interpreted by the individual conscience. Protestantism was born.

Luther's repudiation of the Pope and of the traditional Church position now grew rapidly. The year 1520 saw the publication of his great tracts: *Address to the Christian Nobility*, an appeal to rulers to reform the Church; *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, an attack on the medieval sacramental system, in making which Luther elaborated his own theory of the Sacraments; and *On Christian Liberty*, an assertion of a Christian's freedom from the works of the Law, a proclamation of the liberty and yet the responsibility of the Christian conscience.

In 1520 Luther was condemned by the Pope and summoned to appear before the German Diet of Worms the next year. Refusing to retract, he was put under ban of the Empire, which meant it was the duty of everyone to arrest him. But Luther's ruler, the Elector of Saxony, protected him. Luther was hidden in Wartburg castle for a

¹ See p. 194.

² See p. 191.

year, where he set to work on his magnificent German translation of the Bible.

Luther during the following years proceeded to organize his Church wherever he could get the support of the local ruler, under whose patronage and protection it was always placed. Hence it was a nationalistic state Church. Ordination by bishops was changed to Ordination by priests, and bishops were eliminated. The Sacraments were reduced to two, Baptism and the Eucharist. The doctrine that the Eucharist was in any sense a reoffering of the Sacrifice of Calvary was denied, but Luther took a position close enough to the doctrine of Transubstantiation to assert that Christ is really present in the consecrated Body and Blood. He translated the service into German, but retained vestments and much of the ceremonial. He allowed the laity to receive both the bread and the wine. Penance was retained as permissible. The doctrines of Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints were denied. Monasticism and clerical celibacy were condemned. Luther himself abandoned his vows and married. Great emphasis was, of course, placed on the Bible and preaching. After his initial revolt, however, Luther became more and more conservative and ended up by retaining much of the ancient teaching and practice.

Luther spent the remainder of his life at Wittenberg living comfortably with his wife and children, writing much, enjoying the respect of those about him and revered by his many followers in Germany and other lands. Yet he was not fully happy in his last years. His health was broken by overwork. He was disappointed that his doctrine had not been universally accepted. Worn out by his quarrels with the rival reformers, he died on a visit to his birthplace in 1546.

Lutheranism spread rapidly because it was in line with the new movements. It appealed to nationalism by becoming a state Church under the protection of the ruler,¹ and by repudiating the Pope. Luther's position reflected the new learning in his rejection of Scholasticism and his Bible studies which led him to criticize the Traditions of the Church. His appeal was directly to the Middle Class and from them he received his support. They welcomed the this-worldly trend shown in his dropping of fasting and other ascetic practices. They endorsed his closing of monasteries, whose wealth they could seize. The elimination of the prince bishops and the denial of priestly privileges also had their approval. The basing of authority on the Bible alone

¹ Luther himself always rejected the idea of a state Church, but his followers were not so scrupulous.

coincided with their desire for a written religion. Finally the emphasis on personal faith and the assertion that the individual conscience is the final authority was an expression of the prevailing individualism.

3. The Radicals

Luther at first believed that his interpretation of Christianity was so obviously true that all honest Christians, including even the Pope, would accept it. When the Pope condemned him he concluded that the Papacy was hopelessly corrupt and condemned it. He was, of course, rejected by the conservatives in theology from the start. Now he lost the support of the Humanists, who, desiring reform as much as Luther did, were nevertheless loyal to the Pope and the traditional Faith.

As early as 1521, Luther was engaged on a second front. Inspired by his rejection of authority and his assertion of the supremacy of the individual conscience, other individuals and groups wanted to go further than Luther was prepared to go. In Zwickau a society was formed known as the Anabaptists. The name, which means "those baptized again," comes from their denial of the validity of infant Baptism. This led those who had been baptized as infants to be re-baptized. They also insisted Baptism must be by immersion.

The reason for this position was that the Anabaptists looked on Baptism as the seal of a man's conversion, not as the means by which God brings the soul into union with himself. Only a person old enough to choose for himself can be converted in the Anabaptist sense: therefore he alone can be baptized. The Church teaches that Baptism must be freely accepted by an act of faith and a promise to live the Christian Life. But it also recognizes that the soul needs the grace of Baptism at the earliest possible moment, in order that he may grow up as a member of the Body of Christ. Therefore, the Church encourages infant Baptism, with the sponsors making the necessary acceptance and promises on the child's behalf. There is nothing objectionable in this procedure. It is not an invasion of the child's liberty; it should not produce insincere Christians. It is doing what is best for the child spiritually, just as his legal guardians do for him in business matters when they make decisions in his name before he is of age. If the sponsors fulfil their promise to see that the child is trained in the Christian life and recognizes his privileges and responsibilities, it means simply that the child has the full benefit of his Christian inheritance from his earliest years.

Driven out of Zwickau, the Anabaptists spread over Germany. They attracted the radicals and revolutionaries. They attacked the clergy, all forms of ceremonial and even the Bible, preferring the direct inspiration of the Spirit. They attacked all authority, causing riots and uprisings.

Three of them appeared in Wittenberg in 1521. Luther was called back from Wartburg to deal with them. He repudiated them. In answering their attack on Baptism and such matters, he took the position he was thenceforth to maintain. Only that which can be proven by the Scriptures is to be accepted in matters of doctrine. But in ceremonial and custom, that which is not actually contrary to Scripture is to be retained. By this action Luther lost the support of the Anabaptists.

The next year saw the rebellion of the knights in Germany. The cause was economic. The knights were being squeezed out between the higher nobles and the wealthy towns. Their leader was Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), a Humanist who wrote a violent satire on the ignorance of the clergy, entitled *Letters of Obscure Men*. He had welcomed Luther's reforms and considered himself a follower of him. Luther, however, refused to endorse the knights' rebellion, preferring to stand with the nobles and Middle Class. The rebellion was suppressed and Luther lost the support of the knights.

In 1524 the peasants revolted. Again the cause was economic. But the Anabaptists were encouraging them and they expected Luther's support because of his statements on human liberty and the brotherhood of man. They were disappointed. After failing to pacify them, Luther denounced them and urged the authorities to repress the revolt without restraint. This was done and it cost Luther the support of the peasants. Those who became Protestants joined the more radical sects.

The Anabaptists continued to attract the most radical element. They were persecuted by Catholics and Lutherans alike. In 1534 they seized the town of Munster, driving out the officials of both state and Church. They set up their own government, which soon degenerated into anarchy and immorality. The city was recaptured in 1535 and the leaders put to death by torture.

This purged the Anabaptists of their worst element. They reorganized under Menno Simons (1492-1559), retaining congregational Church government but respecting civil authority. They are known as the Mennonites.

Meanwhile the Reformation was taking hold in Switzerland. Its

leader was Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531). He was given a good education and became a Humanist and disciple of Erasmus. In 1506 he was ordained priest and in 1518 obtained a parish in Zurich. He nearly died of the plague later that year and on his recovery was more zealous to serve God. He also became interested in what Luther was doing. As he never had a dramatic emotional conversion such as Luther's, he became a reformer more through the intellect than through the emotions.

In 1519 he began preaching reform. He advocated that the Christian community, acting through its civil authorities, should enforce the commands of the Bible. The government ordered a series of debates on controversial subjects and awarded the victories to Zwingli. In 1524 those who disagreed with Zwingli were given the choice between acceptance of him and exile. He then proceeded through the government to institute the full system of Protestant reforms. Monasteries were confiscated, their property being used to establish schools. Mass was abolished. A service in German with the sermon the chief element was substituted. Bishops were eliminated. Other cities in Switzerland and Germany followed the lead of Zurich.

Zwingli went further than Luther in rejecting the doctrine of the Eucharist. This led to a bitter controversy. Luther denied the Sacrifice of the Mass, but retained the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine. Zwingli denied both the Sacrifice and the Real Presence. He interpreted the words of Christ, "This is my Body," to mean, "This signifies my Body." The Eucharist for Zwingli was simply a memorial of the Last Supper, a sort of acted sermon which reminds the worshipper of God's love and touches his heart. The difference of the leaders on this point effectively split the Zwinglians from the Lutherans.

By 1527 the reformed cities of Switzerland were leaguering together to protect themselves from an attack planned by the parts of the country which remained Catholic. The latter, however, did not get the help they expected from Austria and signed a peace favorable to Zurich shortly after the war had begun in 1529. Two years later Zurich tried to force reform on the Catholic sections. In the ensuing battle the Catholics were victorious and Zwingli himself was killed. The peace that followed allowed each canton (state) to decide for itself what its religion would be. The lines drawn up then between the Protestants and Catholics in German-speaking Switzerland are practically the same as today. The Zwinglians, however, were later absorbed by the Calvinists.

4. John Calvin (1509-1564)

Luther's great rival in the work of the Reformation was a Frenchman, John Calvin. He was born in Noyon, the son of the secretary to the bishop and attorney for the cathedral Chapter. Calvin was sent to the University of Paris to study for the priesthood and completed his undergraduate work in 1528. By this time his father had decided he should study law. For this purpose he went first to the University of Orleans and then to the University of Bourges. Calvin had already become interested in Humanism and on the death of his father in 1531 began the study of Greek and Hebrew. He became a learned Humanist. He was never ordained a priest.

In 1532 or 1533 he had a conversion experience and began to advocate reform. Soon things got too hot for him in France and he fled to Basel. There in 1536 he published his *Institutes*. Calvin worked over and enlarged them for some years, the final edition coming out in 1559, but no basic idea was ever changed. In their completed form they are a clear and logical presentation of the Protestant position, covering all points of doctrine and practice, the *Summa Theologica* of Protestantism.

Calvin took over the doctrine of justification by faith only. Calvin makes the Will of God the center of his theology. All things exist to glorify God by absolute obedience to his will. Through Adam's fall the human race disobeyed God, became incapable of doing any good and deserves to be damned. Man is totally depraved. God through Christ paid the penalty of human sin for those he came to save. These are not the whole human race, but only those whom God arbitrarily predestines to salvation. It is God alone who decides whether a soul is to be saved or damned. Nothing the soul does has any effect on the preordained judgment. The elect are certain of salvation. The others are sure of damnation. The elect see in God's redemption the proof of his love. He did not have to ransom any souls, since all deserved damnation. Yet he has ransomed some.

The proof of election is good works. A soul predestined to salvation will do God's will once God has united him to himself through the conversion experience. Reason cannot help in finding God's will. It is revealed in the Bible. To Calvin the Bible is a legal book. Its precepts must be followed to the letter. There is something heroic in Calvin's insistence on absolute obedience to God's revealed will, but its application was legalistic and puritanical.

The weakness of Calvin's theology is the ruthless logic with which

he drew the conclusions dictated by his premises. He never seems to have realized that he was portraying God as the most horrible of absolute tyrants. Yet what is a God, who, while he arbitrarily elects certain souls to heaven, creates others for the pleasure of sending them to hell? Such a concept of God refutes itself. Even most Calvinists have quietly forgotten it.

The strength of Calvinism is that it has inspired tremendous moral faithfulness. Those who have believed themselves to be the elect of God have striven earnestly and unwaveringly to do his will. They have scorned both the allurements and the persecutions of the world. Their morality may have been grim and joyless, but it was real.

Believing that the New Testament shows that bishops were simply presbyters, in the sense of priests, Calvin eliminated bishops from his Church in Geneva. Ordination is by priests. The vocation to the ministry, however, rests on an inner sense of call confirmed by the election of the faithful. Hence the congregation has a share in the selection of ministers and considerable control over them is exercised by the ruling elders who are laymen. Calvin retained only the two Sacraments, the institution of which is recorded in the Gospels—Baptism and Holy Communion. He considered these Sacraments to be seals of God's promises rather than objective means of grace. Like Luther he denied the Sacrifice of the Mass. On the doctrine of the Real Presence he tried to find a position midway between Luther and Zwingli. He seems to have ended up with Receptionism. Christ is really present but is received only by those who have faith. This, however, is directly contrary to what St. Paul teaches (I Cor. 11: 29), "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's Body." That passage clearly means that Christ is present and received whether the person receiving has faith or not. Nothing else would give the objective contact our Lord wants to establish in the Sacraments. In the Eucharist Christ comes to us by his own act. His Presence does not depend on our faith or any other subjective attitude on our part.

The state, as everything else in Calvinism, is meant to be the instrument of God's will. Its duty is to enforce the law of God as recorded in the Bible. Calvin had the opportunity to establish such a theocracy at Geneva. He visited there by accident in 1536. He found William Farel (1489-1565) preaching reform and was persuaded to help him. Farel's efforts of four years had just brought the government of the city to adopt Protestantism. The year following, Calvin and Farel got the council to enforce their interpretation of theology and morality

on the city. This aroused opposition which banished the two reformers in 1538.

Calvin went to Strassburg, where he married. By 1541 a party favorable to Calvin was in power again in Geneva and invited him to return. He was reluctant, and when he finally did, it was on his own terms. For the remainder of his life he was virtual ruler of the city though he held no public office. He set up a system of rigid moral supervision through the ruling elders. His position was seriously challenged in 1548 by a growing opposition, but by 1555 Calvin had crushed it. A slight riot that year gave him the opportunity to execute or banish his enemies. In 1559 Calvin founded the University of Geneva. He was unquestionably the dominant figure of the Reformation when he died in 1564.

Calvinism, like Lutheranism, expressed the new movements of the time. The theocratic state was essentially an expression of nationalism in religion. Calvinism was to be used by the Dutch to achieve their independence and by the Scots to preserve their national character. Calvin's theology was a direct result of his Bible studies made possible by the new learning. His appeal was essentially to the Middle Class. His destruction of monasteries and of Church wealth, and his elimination of holy days met with their full approval. He carried the concept of the "Priesthood of All Believers" to its logical conclusion. He disposed completely not only of bishops but of the priestly caste. For his pastors, though ordained and having great disciplinary power, were not considered a higher order than the laity and were under lay supervision through the ruling elders. Far more than Luther, Calvin provided a religion of the written word both in his legalistic handling of the Bible and in his *Institutes*. He was a patron of education. Individualism manifested itself in his teaching on individual election and in his acceptance of Luther's concept of authority as being the Bible interpreted by the individual conscience—except of course that in Calvinism the individual who did the interpreting was not Luther, but Calvin.

C. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

1. The Revival of the Roman Church

The corruptions and abuses of the Church which precipitated the Reformation were not completely ignored by those close to the Papacy. As early as 1517, the same year that Luther nailed his theses to the church door in Wittenberg, a group of priests founded in Rome the Oratory of the Divine Love. Its first objective was to restore the

dignity and reverence of divine worship. The group included many distinguished and learned men, among them Giovanni Caraffa (1476-1559), who later became Pope Paul IV. They were scattered by the Emperor Charles V's sack of Rome in 1527 and reassembled at Venice, where they were joined by others including Reginald Pole, an Englishman living in exile who later was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Pope Paul III, who reigned 1534-1549, recognized in this group a potential aid in reviving the Church. He created Caraffa, Pole and four others of them Cardinals and he requested them to work out a scheme of reform. This they presented to the Pope in 1538. It is a remarkably frank indictment of the abuses of the Church at the top. It asks for greater care in selecting clergy, the appointment of priests for the good of the parish, the elimination of simony and of conferring several offices on the same person. Special objection is made to giving Cardinals bishoprics they cannot supervise. A reform of Religious Orders is requested and a better control of places of learning. The Pope is urged to stop the sale of dispensations, pardons and the superstitions fostered to sell indulgences. The Pope filed it away and unfortunately did little about it.

At about this time a new Order came into being which was to be the chief instrument for the revival of the Roman Church. It was the Jesuits, founded by St. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556). He was the youngest son of a noble Spanish family and became a knight. Defending a fortress in the war between Spain and France, he was wounded in the leg in 1521. His recovery was slow and painful. To pass the time he read the only books available, which were a life of Christ and the lives of the saints. These inspired in him the desire to imitate the latter and to become a knight of Christ.

When he was well, he set out for the shrine of Montserrat, where he spent three days preparing for a general Confession, gave away his rich clothes and hung his sword before the altar. He retired to a cave near Manresa, where he spent ten months in intense prayer. The experience he went through he subsequently wrote up in a form that could be given to others, known as the *Spiritual Exercises*. This is designed to be a month's retreat. The book is written for the conductor of the retreat, not the retreatant. Detailed directions are given on how and when the retreatant is to make his meditations, on his fasting and other ascetic practices, on how to detect what is going on in the retreatant's soul and on how to direct him.

The subject matter for the retreatant's meditations is divided into four "weeks" which are to be shortened or lengthened, however, de-

pending on the retreatant's progress. The first week is a series of considerations on sin ending with a meditation on hell. It is designed to produce deep penitence. The second week is the crisis of the *Exercises*. The retreatant is given a series of meditations on Christ as the divine King contrasted with the devil. Their purpose is not to get the retreatant to choose to serve Christ; it is assumed he has chosen that already. He is encouraged to devote himself unreservedly to the heroic service of Christ. This he does in the Election to a state of life at the end of this week. Here is the real purpose of the *Exercises*, to help the retreatant find his vocation. The meditations of the third week are on the Passion of Christ, leading the retreatant to count the cost of his decision and to find in Christ the strength to pay it. The fourth week is on the Resurrection, encouraging the hope of triumph and ending with an act of complete self-dedication. Ignatius believed that if the *Exercises* were properly conducted and seriously made they would result in heroic devotion to Christ. The use of them down the centuries has proved him right.

After leaving Manresa, Ignatius still did not know what form his vocation would take. He made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On his return, at the age of 33, he went to school in Spain. Eventually he attended various Spanish universities and finally the University of Paris in 1528. There he gathered a group of men about him who in 1534 took the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, to which they added a vow either to go on a crusade or, if that were impossible, to work in absolute obedience to the Pope. The Crusade was impossible. They went to Rome where, after various difficulties, the Pope Paul III recognized them as a tool he might find useful. Their Order was established in 1540 under the name of the Society of Jesus. They are commonly called the Jesuits.

Obedience is the keynote of the Jesuits. Those desiring to enter the Order are put through a fourteen-year training period. Every trace of self-will is crushed out of them till they become like a stick in the hands of their superiors. An elaborate system of check and counter-check by the members of the Order on each other is maintained. The Order has produced many outstanding saints and leaders. But there is a tendency for the rank and file to be cut very much on the same pattern.

The Order grew rapidly. One of its dramatic early ventures was to plunge into foreign mission work. The leader in this field was St. Francis Xavier (1506-1552), another Spaniard and one of the original members. He went out to India with the Portuguese traders, pushed

on to the East Indies and then to Japan in 1549. In the latter place he established a Church which survived without clergy through two centuries of persecution and isolation from the rest of the world. Xavier died trying to enter China in 1552.

Ignatius Loyola remained in Rome, revising his *Spiritual Exercises*, writing the *Rule* and *Constitutions* of the Order, supervising its affairs and enjoying the full confidence of the Pope. He died there in 1556.

The chief work of the Jesuits was the recovery for the Roman Catholic Church of large portions of Europe. They did this by three steps. First, they set about to educate and raise the standards of the clergy of the Church. Their seminaries are famous for their high standards. Second, they tried to convert the ruler of a country if he was a Protestant, or to win his favor if he was a Catholic. This done, they, thirdly, used their influence to establish a complete school system under the control of the Church, and to foster its interests in other ways. They had no hesitation about using intrigue and undercover methods to attain their ends. They were tremendously successful. They held France, Belgium, Austria, south Germany and the people of Ireland faithful to the Roman Catholic Church. They recovered Poland, Hungary and Bohemia. They kept the Roman Church alive in England and in other countries.

They had to pay a price for their success, however. In order to hold immoral Catholic kings faithful to the Church, they had to wink at their sins. They were continually involved in politics and intrigue. This brought them into such disrepute that, as a result of a wave of reaction against the Jesuits, the Kings of Spain and France asked the Pope to suppress the Order in 1773. The Pope commanded them to disband and, faithful to their vow of obedience to him, they quietly did so. But the Pope soon found that he could not get along without them. In 1814 they were revived. They rapidly became once more the largest and most influential Order in the Roman Church.

2. Authoritarianism

The Inquisition had first been established in the Church in the thirteenth century as a part of the campaign against the Cathari. At that time it was to be found in every country except England. The Dominicans and Franciscans were in charge of it. It was simply a special court, the purpose of which was to ferret out and suppress heretics. Like the other courts of the time, its sessions were secret, informers were used and, if the judges thought wise, the accused were

tortured to extract confessions. During the fifteenth century, the Inquisition largely died out.

The Inquisition was revived in Spain in 1478 at the request of Ferdinand of Aragon. Its purpose was to eliminate the Mohammedans and Jews. The first Inquisitor-General was Thomas Torquemada (1420-1498). The third was Cardinal Ximenez (1436-1517), a devout and learned Franciscan, Archbishop of Toledo and founder in 1504 of the University of Alcalá. He was a Humanist and published the first polyglot Bible—a Bible with the text in various languages printed in parallel columns.

When Lutheran books began to reach Spain in the 1520's, the Inquisition turned its attention to Protestants. It was used with terrible effect. For a few years Protestant ideas did seep in and spread, but by 1576 they had been stamped out. Cardinal Caraffa, whom we have met as a member of the Oratory of the Divine Love, had at an earlier time been papal ambassador to Spain. There he had observed the effectiveness of the Inquisition. When Paul III asked him to organize the Roman counter-attack against Protestantism, Caraffa included the Inquisition among the weapons to be used. St. Ignatius Loyola endorsed this proposal. It is interesting to note that Ignatius himself had been hailed before the Inquisition in Spain before he went to Paris, but he had cleared himself.

The Inquisition was set up in Italy in 1542. Protestantism was already gaining ground rapidly there. Under Paul III and his successor Julius III, Caraffa could not push the Inquisition as much as he desired. When he became Pope Paul IV in 1555, however, the Inquisition went into full swing. In 1559 he started the Index of Forbidden Books, books which no Roman Catholic may read without special permission. Pope Pius IV (1559-1565) somewhat reluctantly allowed the Inquisition to continue, but Pope St. Pius V pushed it vigorously, and when he died in 1572, Protestantism was extinct in Italy.

Thus Spain and Italy were held completely loyal to the Roman Church. The price paid, however, was high. The secret court with its informers and secret agents spread fear and suspicion. The court endorsed only the most conservative expression of the Faith; anything new or original was immediately suspect. The Inquisition did not restrict itself to purely theological subjects. Bruno the philosopher and Galileo the scientist were both condemned by it. The new learning was extinguished and neither Italy nor Spain produced anything of importance in the field of thought for the next centuries.

A council has always been considered the normal means of settling

a theological controversy. Popes have not favored this procedure because of their claims to be superior to councils. This dislike of councils was increased by those of the fifteenth century, which had declared their superiority to the Pope. When Protestantism broke out in Germany, Emperor Charles V began to ask for a council and the Pope to refuse. After Charles had sacked Rome in 1527, the Pope was forced to agree to call one. It was delayed by Charles' wars. When Paul III was elected Pope in 1534, however, he promised to assemble a council. Again wars delayed the call and, when that was issued in 1542, the council itself had to be postponed.

The Council of Trent finally assembled in 1545. It was destined to meet in three successive assemblies, lasting from 1545-1547, from 1551-1552 and from 1562-1563 respectively.

Charles V hoped to crush the Protestants by force of arms and bring them to the council in so submissive a mood that a compromise could be worked out. To this end, he wanted the council to go slowly and to do nothing unnecessarily offensive to the Protestants. But the Pope was determined that, if the council had to meet, it was to be the means of proclaiming to the world the Counter-Reformation which with the help of Caraffa he was organizing. The papal legates, one of whom was Cardinal Pole, got control of the council from the start. They prevented the council from declaring its superiority to the Pope. They killed the idea of voting by nations. Bishops were to vote individually, as they had in the early Councils. But since the Italians were most numerous, this was an advantage to the Papacy. The question of whether reform should be considered first, which the Emperor wanted, or doctrine, which the Pope desired, was settled by a compromise in which both were to be taken up simultaneously. In practice only in doctrine was serious work accomplished.

The council next decreed that the Bible and Tradition were of equal authority in determining doctrine, a direct slap at Luther. The Vulgate was made the standard text of the Bible and only the Church had the right to interpret it. Cardinal Pole was chiefly responsible for this victory. The council reasserted the doctrine of Original Sin in its traditional form, refusing to rule on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.¹ In this assertion the Calvinist teaching of the total depravity of man was denied. This was followed by a careful statement on justification which avoided Pelagianism, yet condemned Luther's justification by faith only and Calvin's predestination. The possibility

¹ See p. 254.

of certainty of salvation in this life was also ruled out. Finally the Sacraments, seven in number, were defined as real means of grace operated by Christ himself when the conditions he laid down are fulfilled. This repudiated the concept that they were mere seals of Christ's promises. Baptism and Confirmation were dealt with in detail in the traditional medieval manner.

This was the last work of the first assembly. In reform it had legislated only that bishops should preach and supervise preaching, and that bishops and priests should reside in their dioceses and parishes. In 1547 the Pope transferred the council to Bologna. The Emperor objected and the council broke up.

The Council of Trent reassembled at the Emperor's insistence for its second assembly in 1551. The Protestant leaders were brought to this session but no compromise was possible. The second assembly issued statements on the Eucharist, Penance and Holy Unction. On the Eucharist all Protestant theories were ruled out. The Real Presence was asserted in terms of Transubstantiation. Penance and Unction were defined in the medieval way. The second assembly was ended when the tide was turned against Charles V in 1552 and he had to flee Germany.

The third assembly met in 1562 after the first wars of religion in Germany were ended. Roman Catholicism was recovering and on the move forward again under the leadership of the Jesuits. It sought to recapture lost territory by preaching, education and reform. The emphasis in the council therefore shifted to the latter and it was the stormiest of the three assemblies. The Germans and French wanted such reforming concessions as the permission of the laity to receive the chalice, Mass in the language of the people and clerical marriage. The Spanish wanted the assertion that the Order of bishops was of divine origin and that the Pope is simply the first bishop. But by playing the nations off against each other, the Pope and Jesuits prevented these concessions. The only important reform measures passed were the abolition of indulgence-sellers, together with the prohibition of the sale of indulgences for evil gains, and the requirement that diocesan seminaries be established for the training of clergy. In doctrine this third assembly reaffirmed the Sacrifice of the Mass and issued statements on Holy Orders and Matrimony which made little change in the existing situation. The decrees of the council were referred to the Pope for his approval, which he gave. The council ended in 1563.

The importance of the Council of Trent was that it gave rigid form

to the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. No longer were variant expressions of doctrine and practice permissible. Everything covered by Trent was henceforth clear-cut but inflexible.

3. The Spiritual and Priestly Life

Spain not only gave the Counter-Reformation the Jesuits; from that country also came a revival of the spiritual life.

St. Teresa of Avila (1515-1582) was the daughter of a devout and noble Spanish family. She had a pious upbringing, but as a young girl she lived what she afterwards considered a frivolous life. In 1535 she entered the Carmelite Convent at Avila without her father's consent. After she had taken this step, however, he yielded and she was allowed to become a nun.

A year later she had a serious illness from which she only partially recovered. For some time she continued to keep contact with the outside world. In spite of this she began to practise meditation and to receive extraordinary experiences in prayer. Unskilled spiritual directors misunderstood the meaning of these experiences and attributed them to the devil. Teresa went through a period of confusion and conflict until at last she came in contact with wise directors who recognized the work God was doing in her soul. She passed through the usual periods of illumination and darkness and emerged finally in the highest mystic state.

In 1562 she founded a reformed convent of the Carmelites at Avila, in which the early strictness of the Rule was revived. She was granted permission in 1566 to found other houses along these lines and between 1567 and 1576 she established eleven of them. She wrote an account of her spiritual experiences in an autobiography and in two other books entitled *Revelations* and *Interior Castle* which are among the foremost treatises in mystical theology.

Teresa also inspired among the Carmelite Friars a similar reform, of which the leader was St. John of the Cross (1542-1591). He was the youngest son of a poor silk weaver who died while John was a child. His mother, however, procured for him a good Christian schooling. As John seemed incapable of learning a trade, the governor of a hospital employed him as a servant and he was able to continue his studies under the Jesuits. In 1563 he became a Carmelite and later received permission to keep the Rule in its original strictness. He was ordained priest in 1567. The next year under St. Teresa's inspiration he was allowed to found a reformed house.

The reform spread rapidly and enjoyed the support of the king. The

Crusades united France as nothing else could have done. Above all they were the finishing touch that made Louis in the eyes of his contemporaries the ideal medieval king.

Such he was, and in him we see the medieval concept of the state at its best. Louis demonstrates that it was a high and not unworkable idea. The king was an absolute ruler, but his authority was recognized as being bestowed by God. It was to be exercised in accordance with God's will and for God's glory. The king was personally responsible to God for the way he used his power. Under a Christian king like Louis, who was both a saint and an able ruler, the result was a government based on justice and charity. But the weakness of the system was that all depended on the character of the king. Under a cruel and selfish king like John of England the state became a ruthless tyranny. Unfortunately the weak or wicked kings outnumbered the good. Yet it is well for us to see the medieval ideal at its best as exemplified by St. Louis IX before we condemn it too harshly.

3. St. Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-1274)

Thomas Aquinas was born near Naples, the youngest son of a count. At the age of five he was placed in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino to get his education. From the first he showed an aptitude for study. He proceeded to the University of Naples, where he was a brilliant student. He was also very devout and determined to enter the Dominicans. This his family opposed, as the begging Friars were beneath their dignity. If Thomas was to be a monk they wanted him to be a Benedictine, in which Order he would soon have become an abbot, a man of importance and influence in the Church. It was, however, to avoid this and to be able to devote himself to study and teaching that Thomas wanted to join the Dominicans.

After Thomas had received the habit of the Dominicans sometime around 1240, his brothers arrested him and kept him imprisoned for over a year, doing everything to shake his determination. Thomas used this period for further study and at last his family had to acquiesce to his determination. He was sent by the Dominicans to the Universities of Paris and Cologne to study under the leading teacher of the day, St. Albert the Great (1206?-1280). The latter was also a Dominican. Albert and Thomas were responsible for establishing the great tradition of scholarship in the Dominican Order. Albert was made Bishop of Ratisbon in 1260 but resigned two years later to return to teaching. He attended the Council of Lyons in 1274 and

after Thomas' death defended his reputation at Paris. He died at Cologne in 1280.

The first creative period of scholastic theology ended with the writing of Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences* in the middle of the twelfth century. A new stimulus was needed before further creative advance could be made. This was provided in the recovery of the works of the Greek philosopher Aristotle. Up through the twelfth century only a few of his works were known in the West, and those were in poor Latin translations. In that century, however, the Mohammedans, who had contact with Greek culture in Asia Minor, were translating Aristotle into Arabic. Since the Mohammedan Empire extended into Spain, these translations were introduced there. The Jews who lived both in Spain and the Christian lands of the West, picked up the works of Aristotle and carried them into the rest of Europe.

Coming from a Mohammedan and Jewish source, the works of Aristotle were at first suspect by the Church and their use condemned. But the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople permitted western scholars to make translations of Aristotle direct from the original Greek, and keen minds recognized the value of his philosophy for expounding the Christian Faith.

Aristotle, if not the greatest pagan philosopher, was second only to his teacher, Plato. The scope of his knowledge was more comprehensive than Plato's and his philosophical system more orderly. It is and will always remain a matter of dispute whether Aristotle was as profound as Plato. In the thirteenth century, however, western theology most needed comprehensiveness and order. This made Aristotle their philosopher.

Foremost among those who recognized the value of Aristotle, but who used him with sufficient critical detachment to avoid being led into heresy, was Albert the Great. With this stimulus he became a scholar of amazing comprehensiveness. His writings comprise a well-ordered encyclopedia of all knowledge, scientific, philosophical and theological, which is surpassed only by the works of St. Thomas.

St. Thomas' advantage was that he had the ability to present ideas in a more simple and clear-cut order than his teacher. He was able to think through problems that Albert left unsolved. Thomas was also a man of prayer and a mystic of the highest order. His deepest insights came not from study and thought but from the inspiration received through contemplation of God. Finally Thomas was a poet. Commissioned by the Pope to write the Office and Mass for the Feast of Corpus Christi, not only did he select the antiphons and lessons

with skill, but he composed for it some of the finest Latin hymns. Parts of four of them are to be found in *The Hymnal, 1940*, numbers 193, 194, 199, 200, 204, and 209.

Thomas spent most of his life in writing and in teaching at Paris, Cologne, Naples and other universities in Italy. Students flocked to him; Popes and kings sought his advice. He refused the Archbishopric of Naples in 1265 in order that his studies might not be interrupted. His writings, enormous in scope and quantity, fill 32 folio volumes averaging over 600 closely printed pages each. He made the perfect combination of Aristotelianism and the Christian Faith, keeping always the exact balance between reason and revelation.

His greatest work, the *Summa Theologica*, a summary of all theology, is still the fundamental book on the subject. He left it incomplete at his death, because the revelations given him toward the end of his life caused him to feel his writings were inadequate. It was finished by his pupils from the notes he had left. On the importance of St. Thomas, Dr. Foakes-Jackson writes:¹ "If the Christian revelation is final and complete, if here, at least, man has nothing to do but assimilate its teaching through the Church, Thomas occupies an unassailable position. For his system is the appeal of one of the acutest of human minds to the intellect, though he admits that there is a knowledge of God unattainable to man save by revelation. Every statement is subjected to the test of reason, all possible objections are raised and met. Medieval doctrine is set forth with perfect clearness and order, and in this way those who refuse to hear the Church are deliberate sinners against the light of reason. Heresy, therefore, is not only the worst of sins, it is the height of folly."

Thomas died on the way to the Council of Lyons, 1274, to which he had been summoned by the Pope. The chief figure of this council was the second leading theologian of his age whom we have already studied,² the Franciscan St. Bonaventure, who had been made a Cardinal in 1273. To this council the Eastern Emperor, having just driven out the Latin rulers of Constantinople and wishing to win the support of the Pope, sent theologians instructed to accept a formula on the basis of which the Eastern and Western Churches could be declared reunited. This they did, yielding on all disputed points to the West. Inevitably on their return home their formula was rejected by the Eastern Church.

¹ *Introduction to the History of Christianity, A.D. 590-1514*, page 234.

² See p. 175.

The most lasting achievement of the Council of Lyons was the setting-up of the machinery for the election of a Pope. The Cardinals were to be locked up with a few attendants and with no contact with the outside world until an election was accomplished. To speed their deliberations their food was to be reduced to bread and water on the fifth day. Except for the last provision which proved unenforceable, this is still the procedure today.

The chief critic of St. Thomas was another Franciscan theologian, Duns Scotus (?-1308). His was a brilliant mind. Where Thomas emphasized the intellect, Scotus tended to stress the will and its freedom. Scotus wrote only on specific points and left no systematic work. This, together with an obscure style, makes it hard to get his position clear. There are flashes of insight, but there are other passages which seem mere destructive criticism. He is one of the most misunderstood theologians of the Church and is likely to remain so until some scholar produces a clear exposition of his teaching.

4. Critique of the Thirteenth Century

There is no century in human history which has had passed upon it such extremes of judgment as the thirteenth. Since the sixteenth century it has been the fashion even in scholarly circles to consider it an age of darkness. Men's minds were thought to have been fettered by the superstitions fostered by a corrupt Church, and society to have been enslaved by a feudal system dominated by blood-thirsty warring tyrants. This verdict has been most common among Protestants, who, having broken with the Church because of its corruptions in the late Middle Ages, read these corruptions back into the thirteenth century.

The Roman Catholics, who boast their continuity with the Church of the Middle Ages, have tended to exalt the thirteenth century. But since they have seemed chiefly to admire the undisputed sway the Church then had over society and the docility with which her teaching was supposed to have been accepted in the "age of faith," their praise has tended only to confirm the Protestant verdict as to its corruption and superstition.

In recent years, however, there has been a sincere effort to study the actual life and achievements of the century. This has demonstrated that the popular conceptions, both favorable and unfavorable, are false. The scholarly judgment has of course been varied also. But all who have made an honest effort to appraise the century's achievements agree that many were outstanding and one man has dared to call it "the greatest of centuries."

We have seen that the century opened with the genuine religious revival achieved by the Friars. The Franciscans literally carried the Gospel to the poor and thousands were enlightened and raised to devotion and holiness. The Dominicans backed this up with a more intellectual presentation of the Faith. This tremendous popular movement was loyal to the Church and therefore a source of strength rather than division. The leaders of the Friars were themselves humbly submissive to the Church even while they recognized and sought to reform its corruption. St. Francis would kiss the hand of an evil priest, not because he was blind to his wickedness, but because he revered his priestly office. The Church officials on their part—Popes, Cardinals, bishops—though they were usually worldly and corrupt, recognized the value of the Friars' movement and encouraged it. Such discernment on both sides is amazing.

The intellectual achievement of the thirteenth century was astounding. Thanks again to the Friars, it kept within the framework of the Church. For of the four theologians we have studied, two were Dominicans and two Franciscans. Between them they achieved a systematic exposition of Christian thought which has never since even been approached, let alone equalled.

This intellectual activity was not restricted to theology. It was the century in which the universities were established and their curriculum worked out in the form that was to last for centuries. They were crowded. Apparently there were more students enrolled than at any time since, and the population of Europe was much smaller than in modern times. Hence the percentage attending the universities was greater. These universities began the systematic study of law. They made great strides in medicine. Most surprising of all, they anticipated much of modern science.

In the latter connection we should note Roger Bacon (1214-1294), an English Franciscan who taught chiefly at Oxford. He was a pupil of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and of St. Albert the Great. From them he derived a keen interest in natural science. For years he engaged in actual experiments in such fields as physics. After he became a Franciscan he was in continual difficulty over his studies and writings, but his difficulties were with his religious superiors, not with the Church. One Pope encouraged him. Because of his difficulties and because he was about three centuries ahead of his time, he was not fully appreciated. But he did advocate and use the modern experimental method in science and made remarkable discoveries.

In art the thirteenth century's achievements were monumental.

Gothic architecture rose to its height. This includes not only the beautifully proportioned buildings, with their soaring arches, their flying buttresses, their massive towers and their delicate spires. It also includes their stained glass windows, their sculpture, their woodcarving, their metal work, their vestments, their illuminated service books. In each and all of these fields they are unexcelled. Nor were these glories restricted to cathedrals and churches. The same excellence of craftsmanship was to be found in the town halls, public baths, public fountains and private houses.

It should be noted that these triumphs of architecture and art were being achieved simultaneously all over Europe. They were the work of the whole population of the place where they were built. This gives some idea how widespread was the high level of craftsmanship.

In painting, music and literature the century produced great work. There were, for instance, the frescoes of Giotto, the development of plainsong, the *Divine Comedy* of Dante (the latter completed in the fourteenth century but reflecting the thoughts of the preceding). The thirteenth century saw Church Latin reach its peak and literature in modern languages have its beginning.

Commerce and geographical discovery flourished. It is the period when the trading cities of Italy and the Rhine were coming into their own. Marco Polo and others penetrated as far as China. The guilds of craftsmen were at their height.

Modern nations were just beginning to take form. We have seen how the century could produce a saintly king like Louis IX, and he could unite a nation by the strength of his moral character and the inspiration of his ideals. Although society was still in the grip of the feudal system, which meant that the serfs, who comprised the majority of the population, were little better than slaves, there was among the nobles the beginning of civil liberties. For the Magna Charta was signed in 1215, and the parliaments of England and France first met toward the close of the century.

There was, of course, the darker side of the picture. Indeed, it was a century of violent contrasts. The saints were most holy and the sinners unblushingly wicked. For every King Louis IX there were many tyrants like King John. Even a great Pope like Innocent III was engaged in power politics, and most of the higher clergy were selfish, worldly, and corrupt. The lower clergy were often ignorant, and the majority of the population downtrodden, untaught and victimized by superstition and crushing taxes. Warfare and civil strife were rampant, life was cheap, cruelty widespread.

Yet, when all this is taken into account, it was a great century, all the greater because the Christian Faith and practice were accepted without question as the basis of life. It was a society with true principles, recognizing true ideals. It did not achieve them. The sinners, no doubt, out-numbered the saints. But at least the sinners knew and admitted they were sinners. They did not rationalize their sin into false philosophy as they do today. And because the ordinary man could, if he wished, have some concept of eternal values, some glimpse through prayer and worship of eternal truth, some realization of his eternal worth and eternal destiny as a child of God, one suspects that, in spite of all the poverty, cruelty and corruption of the society in which he lived, he was happier than men on the whole have been in the centuries since.

C. THE DECLINE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

1. The "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy (1305-1377)

Boniface VIII had failed to break the hold of the French king on the Papacy. The result was that the hold was tightened. Boniface's successor reigned only a few months. Eleven months later, in 1305, a Frenchman was elected Pope, taking the name of Clement V. Remembering how Boniface had been imprisoned by a Roman family, Clement decided that a city which was still torn by strife between the leading families was not a safe place for the Pope to live. He therefore never went to Rome. He settled in a Dominican monastery at Avignon, a city which was not at that time within the French kingdom. It was, however, just across the Rhone from its frontier.

This had the effect of placing the Pope under the direct supervision of the French king. Philip IV after his triumph over Boniface was determined to exercise this to the full. Clement's powerlessness to resist is illustrated by the suppression of the Knights Templar, a Military Religious Order founded to protect the Kingdom of Jerusalem. No doubt the Order needed to be suppressed. The Crusades being over, its function was ended. It had enormous wealth and its members were greedy and arrogant.¹ This armed force which had always been loyal to the Pope's command was, however, a source of strength to the Papacy. Clement was reluctant to part with it.

Philip was determined to destroy the Templars. When Clement hesitated, Philip threatened to call a council which would formally condemn Boniface VIII for heresy, fraud and immorality. Clement

¹ This is well shown in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

knew Philip would carry out his threat and that such a condemnation of a former Pope would be fatal to papal prestige. Meanwhile Philip was charging the Templars with the grossest blasphemies and immoralities. The Templars' houses were closed and the knights arrested. There is no evidence that they were guilty of the crimes charged, except a few confessions extracted by horrible tortures, which were usually retracted afterwards. The knights were then treated as relapsed heretics and burned at the stake.

Clement could do no more than mildly protest this invasion of the Church's rights. The Templars were counted as clergy and therefore not subject to the king's courts. In the end Clement had to yield completely and suppress the Templars throughout Europe. He even submitted his decree to Philip in advance to be sure it suited him.

Not all the Avignon Popes were so docile to the French king as Clement V. His successor, John XXII, another Frenchman, was much stronger, and in matters that did not directly concern France pursued a wise policy. He was responsible for sending missions to North Africa and Asia, even penetrating as far as China and India. Nevertheless he settled permanently at Avignon, built a magnificent papal palace and maintained a court which was infamous for its luxury and immorality. His successors continued both the good and bad aspects of his policy.

Thus for a period of nearly seventy years (1305-1377), the Popes gave the appearance of being under the thumb of the French king. As this was approximately the same length of time that the ancient Jews were enslaved in Babylon, it has been called the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy. It should be noted, however, that the Popes were not forced to remain at Avignon. They chose to stay there.

This was a blow to papal prestige. As long as the Popes lived at Rome, they seemed to have an international status. The Pope himself was the ruler of Rome and the Papal States. He might occasionally have to bow to the wishes of a strong ruler, but he did not appear to be part of his kingdom. At Avignon, on the other hand, the Pope did seem to be identified with France. Hence the enemies of France felt themselves to be on the opposite side from the Pope. The Pope became a party in the struggles between the rising nations, instead of maintaining his position above them.

In Italy the effect of the Pope's absence was disastrous. There was no one to check the incessant warfare between the petty states. Rome itself, a prey to the conflict between the leading families, was reduced to anarchy. Its buildings were practically destroyed. Marble blocks from the Colosseum were burned for lime. Churches fell into disre-

pair. Cattle grazed even at the foot of the altars of St. Peter's and the Lateran.

The person chiefly responsible for the return of the Pope to Rome was an illiterate Italian girl, St. Catherine of Siena (1347-1380). She was next to the youngest child of a dyer of Siena. From earliest years she was unusually devout and vowed herself to virginity at the age of seven. When she was old enough, her family was determined she should marry, but she persisted in remaining faithful to her vow. Her parents did all they could to break her determination, even making her a household drudge. This and her extreme ascetic practices broke her health. But she remained both constant and joyous. She lightened her tasks by fancying to herself that in waiting on her family she was serving Christ and his Apostles. At last her parents relented and provided her with a cell in the basement, where she lived as a hermit for three years. There she experienced spiritual consolation and desolations and emerged finally into the highest mystic state, the unitive life, in which her soul was united to God.

She then began an active life of caring for the sick and poor. She believed it was not her vocation to enter a convent and became a member of the Third Order of the Dominicans. A band of disciples gathered about her. She acted as peacemaker between quarreling families, first at Siena and then elsewhere in Italy. Her powers along these lines became so famous that in time she was employed in making peace between states. She made so many personal conversions that priests had to accompany her to hear the confessions of those whose hearts she touched. In 1375 she received the stigmata, but the wounds, at her request, did not become visible till after her death.

In 1376 she was sent by citizens of Florence to Avignon to make their peace with the Pope. These negotiations failed. But Catherine made such a strong impression on the Pope, Gregory XI, that he heeded her plea to return to Rome. The French king and the Cardinals tried to prevent this, but Catherine was able to maintain her influence over him and to hold him to his determination. In January 1377 he went to Rome and the "Babylonian Captivity" came to an end. Catherine accompanied the Pope and helped establish him in Rome and the Papal States. The next year she went to Florence to reopen negotiations with the citizens on behalf of the Pope. After the death of Gregory, peace was successfully concluded with his successor, Urban VI. Catherine then returned to Rome to help him reform the Church. The Papal Schism broke out at this time. Catherine remained faithful to Urban, but the turmoil in the Church broke her heart and

sapped her remaining strength. She died in 1380 at the age of only thirty-three.

2. The Papal Schism (1378-1417)

When Gregory XI died about a year after his return to Rome, there was great excitement over the election of his successor. The people of Rome were determined that the new Pope should remain in that city. They broke into the room where the Cardinals were meeting and demanded that a Roman be elected Pope. The Cardinals said the election must be made according to proper form on the next day and finally cleared out the crowd. All night the mob outside the palace shouted, "A Roman Pope!"

Under these conditions the Cardinals, refusing to elect a Roman, decided it was wise to elect an Italian. They chose the Archbishop of Bari, who took the name of Urban VI. There was wild confusion when the election was announced, but the Cardinals succeeded in getting to places of safety. The people ultimately accepted the election. On the following Easter the new Pope was crowned, and all the French Cardinals in Rome took part in the ceremony. Whether or not the original election had been forced by mob violence, all the Cardinals concerned accepted it as valid after they had had an opportunity to denounce it.

Urban VI, however, turned out to be an unfortunate choice. Before his election he had been humble, austere and a learned scholar. His humility vanished when he became Pope. Determined to reform the Church, he started on the Cardinals and treated them with tactless arrogance, insulting them repeatedly.

The French Cardinals retired to Anagni. They declared the election of Urban invalid because it was forced. Urban continued to make enemies, including the Queen of Naples, who at first supported him. Urban suddenly created twenty-six new Cardinals. The Italians who were already Cardinals went over to the French. Finally in September 1378 all the Cardinals who had elected Urban declared his election invalid. Then they proceeded to elect a French Pope, who took the name Clement VII and established himself at Avignon. At first only France, Naples and Scotland backed the Avignon Pope, but eventually the kingdoms of Spain were won to his side. The rest of Europe backed the Roman Pope.

The Papal Schism did even more damage to papal prestige than the "Babylonian Captivity." There had been anti-popes before, but they had lasted only for short periods. Now there were two successions of

Popes, each entrenched in a papal palace, each with sufficient backing to ensure its continuation. The scandal of rival Popes condemning each other and cancelling each other's acts produced confusion and scorn. In the light of papal claims, the Church, the Body of Christ, had become a monstrosity with two heads.

It soon became clear that neither side would yield to the other. Something had to be done to force a solution. An old concept, which the Popes at least since St. Leo in the fifth century had been trying to stamp out, was revived. It was that a General Council is superior to the Pope. This idea had already been expressed at the time of the "Babylonian Captivity" in a remarkable work by Marsiglio of Padua called *Defender of the Peace*, published in 1324. Marsiglio expounded the modern concept of the state with the ruler governing with the consent of the people, asserted the independence of the state from the Church and insisted that only a council can interpret doctrine and pronounce excommunication on heretics. The Pope, accordingly, is subject to the decisions of councils and can only function through them.

These ideas were revived as the only solution of the Papal Schism. Some of the French and Italian Cardinals who were disgusted at their respective Popes got together and called a council that met at Pisa in 1409. They deposed both the Roman and Avignon Popes and elected a third. The two other Popes refused to acquiesce, however, and as the Avignon Pope kept the support of Spain and Scotland, and the Roman Pope kept the support of Rome, Naples and parts of Germany, they were able to maintain themselves. England, France and parts of Italy and Germany supported the Pisan Pope. So the Church had now three Popes.

The Pisan Pope, John XXIII, was prevailed upon by the Emperor to call a council that met at Constance in 1414. John expected to control the council by a huge Italian delegation, but was frustrated because it was decided that the nations should vote separately, each nation having but one vote. John then left the council. He was deposed and lost the support of the nations that had backed him. The Roman Pope resigned. The Avignon Pope refused to do this, but the support of Spain and Scotland was weaned away from him. He was deposed. In justifying these depositions the Council of Constance declared itself and all General Councils to be superior to the Pope. The Cardinals with representatives from each nation proceeded to elect a new Pope, Martin V.

The council had already tried John Hus and, in spite of the

promise to him of a safe return home, burned him at the stake.¹ It now turned to the discussion of reforms. Martin V, however, was able to play the nations off against each other, thereby preventing it from making any. It finally adjourned in 1418, demanding that a council to reform the Church be called five years later.

The council called in 1423 was unable to meet because of the plague. Such pressure was brought to bear on the Pope that he called it again in 1431 to meet at Basel. This council was strongly anti-papal. It reaffirmed its superiority to the Pope and cut off most of the Papal revenues. The reforms were long overdue, but they left the Pope in an impossible position and he determined to wreck the council.

His opportunity came when the Eastern Emperor, who was hard pressed by the Turks, turned to the West for help. He asked to send representatives to discuss the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches. To meet the Greeks, the Pope transferred the council to Ferrara in 1438 and later to Florence. The majority refused to leave Basel. But those who did meet with the Greeks worked out in 1439 a formula, acceptable to all, which seemed to unite the Churches. This apparent success concentrated all the attention on the council in Florence. Basel and its reformers were quietly forgotten.

As usual the Eastern Church repudiated the agreement when its representatives returned. No military help was forthcoming from the West. Constantinople was captured by Turks in 1453 and the motive that inspired the negotiations was gone.

Meanwhile the Council of Basel continued to meet. In 1439 it deposed the Pope and elected its own. It attracted less and less support. Finally in 1449 it realized its cause was lost. Its Pope resigned. The council elected the reigning Pope as his successor and dispersed. The attempt to reform the Church by councils had failed.

It should be noted, however, that France achieved for itself the reforms of the Council of Basel by adopting the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438. Contributions to the Pope were reduced to about one-fifth of what he had formerly received. The control of the French Church in regard to ecclesiastical appointments, etc., was taken out of the Pope's hands. This legislation remained in force until 1516. At that time the Pope got back his revenues, but appointments were placed in the hands of the king, subject only to the Pope's automatic approval. The German princes also passed a Pragmatic Sanction in 1439, but it was never ratified by the Emperor and did not go into effect.

¹ See p. 198.

3. The Decay of the Church

The Papacy emerged from the period of the councils with all its claims intact. After 1417 there was once more one Pope recognized as head of the Church by all the West. When the Council of Florence was brought to an end in 1439 further appeals to councils were forbidden. Had the Popes seized this opportunity for spiritual leadership, using their position to reform the Church, all would have been well.

Instead the Popes, remembering the humiliations of the "Babylonian Captivity" and the Papal Schism, determined so to strengthen their position that the like could never happen again. To this end they set themselves up as Italian princes. Their policy had three basic objectives:

1. They sought to control and expand the Papal States. The Popes who did most along these lines, with the dates of their reigns, were Sixtus IV (1471-1484), who fought with Florence; Julius II (1503-1513), the most warlike of the Popes; and Leo X (1513-1521), who sought to achieve his ends more by diplomacy.

2. They beautified Rome by encouraging the artistic magnificence of the Renaissance. This process began with Nicholas V (1447-1455) and was vigorously pursued by Sixtus IV, who built the Sistine Chapel. Julius II encouraged Raphael and Michelangelo to paint their famous frescoes at the Vatican. He tore down the old St. Peter's and started the new because the former was not big enough to house his projected tomb. The tomb, however, was never completed.

3. Practically all the Popes tried to promote the interests of their relatives. The most flagrant example of this was Alexander VI (1492-1503), a Spaniard, who spent his pontificate arranging profitable marriages for his illegitimate daughter Lucrezia Borgia, and permitted his bastard son Cesare to try to make a principality for himself out of the Papal States.

All these enterprises demanded money and the Popes used every means to obtain it. Papal taxes were increased. Simony, the sale of Church offices, was commonplace. This meant they went to the highest bidder, the one who would unscrupulously make the most of his investments. Pardons and dispensations were sold to wealthy applicants at fabulous prices. Jubilee pilgrimages to Rome were arranged on every pretext. The sale of Masses and other Sacraments was encouraged.

The great device for extracting money from the lower classes was

the sale of indulgences. The theory of indulgences is that, whereas all souls are saved only through the work of Christ, the response of the saints has been so generous that through their merits and prayers they can help other souls. So far there is nothing inconsistent with Christian truth. But the Pope also claimed to be custodian of a treasury of merits and to be able to apply them to individual souls for the purpose of shortening their suffering in Purgatory.¹ This he would do for a fee. The preaching of indulgences was usually in the hands of the Friars and they sometimes made a shameless appeal to superstition. "Put a coin in the box" (the largest the traffic would bear) "and the soul of your mother will go straight to heaven."

The evil of these abuses was not only that they further impoverished the lower classes and gave the Church a reputation for greed. They undermined morality. The idea that salvation could be obtained by paying for Masses to be said which one did not attend, or by buying pardons and indulgences, encouraged the impression that it was not necessary to have any moral or prayer life of one's own.

Clerical life sank to the lowest ebb. The higher clergy were for the most part unscrupulous adventurers interested only in political power and luxurious living. The parish priests were sunk in ignorance. Many were flagrantly unfaithful to their vows of celibacy, openly living with their mistresses and children. They were further degraded by their inability to compete with the Friars, who took over most of their pastoral functions.

The Religious Orders also declined. There were several causes of this. First, there was the inevitable decrease in fervor from the height reached in the thirteenth century. Second, the Orders were freed from the control of local bishops and under the direct control of the Popes. During the period when the Papacy was in difficulty this supervision was exercised less adequately than usual. Third, there was the rivalry between the Orders, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans. They became more interested in scoring points off each other than in winning souls to Christ.

The most stunning blow to the Religious Orders, however, was the Black Death and other plagues that swept through Europe. In the fourteenth century in some places two-thirds to three-fourths of the

¹ The doctrine of Purgatory has been challenged, but it would seem to be inescapable. Heaven is the Vision of God and only the pure in heart can see him. The average soul is not pure in heart at death, and that experience cannot automatically make him so. He must be prepared for heaven by a process in which the results of sin are purged away. This is all that the doctrine of Purgatory asserts.

population were wiped out. The loss of life was heaviest among people between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. Monasteries found themselves with hardly any active members to carry on their works. They were desperately in need of recruits. To obtain them they put on high pressure campaigns and lowered standards.

Scholastic theology also declined in the fourteenth century. St. Thomas Aquinas came more and more to be considered the last word on all important questions. This forced those who sought a reputation for theological originality to engage in debating unimportant minor points. The leading theologian of the fourteenth century tried to dispose of these meaningless subtleties by simplifying Scholasticism. He was William of Occam (?-c.1349), an English Franciscan and disciple of Duns Scotus. Although he developed some important ideas, his critical attack on the various aspects of Scholasticism gave the impression of being destructive and sceptical, and tended to undermine it. He was associated with Marsiglio of Padua in his attack on the Papacy.

There were, of course, many devout souls in these times. Despair at the state of the Church, and the proximity of death because of the plagues concentrated the attention of many of them on the future life. There was a mystic movement which centered in Germany, but spread throughout the West. In England there was a school of mystics whose writings avoid the usual excesses and express a charming common sense. Chief among them are Walter Hilton (?-1396), an Augustinian canon who wrote *The Ladder of Perfection*; Dame Julian of Norwich (c.1342-1413?), a Benedictine nun who lived for years as a hermit and wrote *Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love*; and the unknown author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*.

In Holland were the Brethren of the Common Life. They were not monks. Each earned his own living, but they had a common purse, and spent their leisure in prayer and good works. The chief of this group was Thomas à Kempis (c.1380-1471), whose book *The Imitation of Christ*, stressing self-sacrifice and other-worldliness, is the most popular devotional book ever written.

It may seem strange to include such men and women of prayer in a section on the decay of the Church. Yet they belong here. They lived in a time when there was crying need for reform. They themselves were undoubtedly called to retire into the mystic life of prayer, as were the contemplatives of the twelfth century, in order to inspire others to reform the Church. But they had no disciples who carried out this work. Part of the reason was that their teaching and writings

put too much emphasis on withdrawing from the world. They did not really believe the evil of their days was curable and they did not move others to undertake the task. The spiritual energy these mystics should have generated was lost to the Church.

4. The Pre-Reformers

There were, however, throughout the Middle Ages, groups who tried to reform the Church. In the twelfth century, movements sprang up among the uneducated lower classes that aimed at purifying the Church. The Cathari were heretical from the start, being Manichaeism in their belief that matter is evil. The Waldensians were simple ignorant folk who sought to recover Christian poverty. Both groups were inclined to reject the Church's Sacraments and clergy.

A campaign of persecution against these groups did much to stamp them out in the early thirteenth century.¹ But the decisive factor that robbed them of their support was the Friars' movement, which expressed their ideals more effectively and had the Church's endorsement and the strength of the Sacraments as well.

As the Orders of Friars declined in the fourteenth century and the corruption of the Church again became intolerable, ideas associated with these early groups revived. The first of the new reformers was John Wyclif (c.1320-1384), an Englishman who studied at Oxford and became a theologian of distinction. He was influenced by the writings of St. Augustine. In his early life he seems to have conformed to the teaching of the Church. But in 1376 he opened an attack on the Church's wealth and its interference with the state. His thesis was that God gives wealth and authority to be used aright. When it is misused it should be taken away. This position was not pleasing to the higher clergy. It was welcomed by certain elements in England that were jealous of the Church's wealth. They were influential enough to protect Wyclif for the time from the Church's condemnation.

Wyclif proceeded to go further. As his three main ideas were to characterize the Reformation in the sixteenth century, we shall try to analyze them here:

1. Shocked at the corruption of the clergy and the abuses of their authority and privileges, Wyclif sought to make the priestly office dependent on the moral character of the priest. Hence an unworthy priest could not validly minister. The claims of bishops to be the sole conveyors through Ordination of the priests' authorization to

¹ Small groups of the Waldensians survived, however, and were absorbed by the Calvinists in the sixteenth century.

celebrate the Eucharist were declared without foundation. We can sympathize with Wyclif's desire to produce sincere and worthy ministers. But the means he chose were fatal to the continuity of Christ's activity through his Body the Church. Christ acts in the Sacraments only because the priest is Christ's agent by virtue of the authority given him in Ordination. This authority rests on Christ, not on the priest's moral character. The fact that the priest has this office whatever his moral character makes it more important that his life be worthy of his office. But to say that the priest functions on the basis of his moral character implies that the priest ministers in his own strength. This position undermines the Sacraments and the emphasis is shifted from them to preaching. Thus Wyclif sent out his "poor priests," usually laymen, to preach the Gospel.

2. Wyclif also wanted to eliminate the idea that salvation could be attained by mere membership in the Church, and by a routine of religious practice which hardly rose above the level of magic. This concept, fostered by the corrupt clergy who found it easier to control the people and get money out of them if they were left the prey of ignorance and superstition, Wyclif condemned. In this he was right; but in his cure he went to the opposite extreme. He developed the idea of the Church of the elect—that the only true members of the Church were the souls God had chosen and who had the power to live sincere Christian lives. This destroyed the objective character of the Church and its function as a hospital for sinners.

3. Wyclif believed that the best method of overcoming ignorance and superstition was to put the Bible into the hands of the people. He had the first English translation of the whole Bible made. This was a step in the right direction. But his insistence that the Bible was the only source of authority and that Tradition is of little value overlooked the fact that the Bible does not interpret itself. In the hands of untrained people it was likely to become a source of heresy.

Wyclif's followers were called Lollards. At first he met with success. But in 1381 he attacked the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Also the peasants revolted, possibly inspired in part by his attack on authority. Both these occurrences cost him friends, and in 1382 the Archbishop of Canterbury's court condemned his writings. Wyclif himself was still too popular to be attacked. He retired to his rectory, where he died a natural death in 1384. The Lollards were subsequently suppressed.

Wyclif's great disciple was John Hus (c. 1373-1415), a Bohemian,¹

¹In 1383 Richard II of England married Anne of Bohemia. Many Bohemian scholars began to attend Oxford, and some took Wyclif's works home with them.

who in 1409 became for the second time rector of the University of Prague. He was much influenced by the writings of Wyclif, which he translated. He began to preach reform and soon had a large following and the support of the King of Bohemia. The Pope condemned him and the Emperor persuaded him to attend the Council of Constance under promise that he could return to Prague in safety. Hus expounded his views to the council and refused to submit to their judgment. It was more for his disobedience than for heresy that the council condemned and burned him at the stake in 1415.

The disciples of Hus in Bohemia were subjected to severe persecution but they survived till the Reformation and became one of the Protestant Churches. Through the work of Nicholas Zinzendorf (1700-1760) they had a great revival. They are known as the Moravians and are especially devoted to missions.

All the reformers did not revolt from the Church, however. St. Bernadine of Siena (1380-1444), a son of a noble family, became a Franciscan in 1402. In 1417 he began a career as a mission preacher in the cities of Italy. His success was enormous. Great crowds would turn out to hear him preach each morning at daybreak. Many would be moved to penitence and at his bidding would cast their jewelry, cosmetics, playing cards, etc., into a bonfire. He instituted the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus. Because of his popularity, he was accused of heresy, but was vindicated. He remained a loyal son of the Church. In 1438 he was elected vicar-general of the Franciscan Observants. Four years later he persuaded the Pope to accept his resignation as vicar-general. He returned to his preaching and died, exhausted by his labors, in 1444.

Savonarola (1452-1498), a Dominican, began a mission in Florence in 1490. He became prior of the local Dominican house, where he instituted reform. The people were greatly moved by his preaching and a wave of penitence swept over the city. In 1494 the people drove out the Medici, the ruling family of the city, whom Savonarola had attacked. A theocratic republic was set up of which he was the real ruler. He now began to attack the corruption of the Pope, who was the infamous Alexander VI. This brought his excommunication, but his friends in Florence saved him from attack. In 1498, however, the people of Florence, who were weary of his somewhat Puritan righteousness, turned against him. He was arrested by the city government, tortured to extract a confession of heresy, hanged and his body burned.

See Review Outline VIII. The Middle Ages.

CHAPTER VIII

The Reformation

A. BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMATION

1. The Rise of Nationalism

THE REFORMATION was more than an effort to revive the decaying Church and to correct its abuses. Progress along these lines, slow but nonetheless real, was being made during the fifteenth century. It might in time have put the Church back on its feet without any revolutionary break with the past. What stopped this development and turned the Church into new channels was a series of movements which came to their full power at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They changed the course of history and founded a new culture which has lasted till our own day. Hence it is customary to date modern history from 1500.

The first of these new movements to arise was nationalism. Feudal society was essentially international. It was divided horizontally by classes, not vertically by nations. At the top were the nobles and knights. The territory which each of them governed grew or diminished depending on his success in war and on his ability to make profitable marriage alliances. Frequently a noble's holdings were scattered about in different places and did not form a geographical unity. The knights and nobles formed a class by themselves, wandering around engaged in wars and tournaments, and feeling a closer kinship with each other than they did with the people who inhabited the territories which they governed.

Scholars formed another international class. It was a normal cus-

tom for students to move from one university to another. Those who spent their life teaching would usually do so in many different and widely separated places. Merchants by the very nature of their trade had to do much traveling and formed another class, which as we shall see grew in numbers and importance in the later Middle Ages. The serfs, the peasant class who tilled the soil, were attached to the land. This meant they had to remain in the place where they were born, and when the territory changed hands they went with it as part of the property. They could not, therefore, travel about. But they felt a closer bond with the other serfs throughout Europe than they did with their overlords.

Above all, the Church was an international society. The clergy and all the lay servants of the Church were independent of the local state. They could not be tried in secular courts, but only in the courts of the Church. The Church had its own government through bishops with a single international head, the Pope. The clergy moved freely from place to place. It should be noted also that the Church provided the one escape from the rigidity of the feudal system. The son of a serf had to remain a serf if he stayed in secular life. But an ambitious and talented serf could become a monk, rise to be abbot or bishop and thus become a spiritual noble.

By the thirteenth century, however, the modern languages of Europe were taking form. The use of each language extended over a definite geographical area. People in that area could understand each other; many of them could not understand the language of the surrounding areas. With the language went other cultural tastes and habits. This produced a sense of geographical kinship which gradually became stronger than the older class solidarity.

We have seen that St. Louis IX was able in the thirteenth century to unite his kingdom (which, however, included only part of modern France) on the basis of this new feeling of nationalism. In both England and France this movement received great stimulus from the so-called Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). The origin of this conflict was purely feudal. It arose out of quarrels between vassals of the English and French kings and the claims of the English king to the French throne based on marriage alliances. Yet at the end of the war England and France were nations in the modern sense of the word.

The English were at first successful, winning the battles of Crecy in 1346 and Poitiers in 1356. There followed a long period of fluctuation in the tide of war and of stalemate. In 1415, Henry V of England landed in Normandy and won the battle of Agincourt. This

heroic victory against tremendous odds made Henry the hero of English nationalism. He continued his victories till his death in 1422. By 1428 the English army had conquered most of France and was besieging Orleans. That city was about to fall and with it the last hope of the French king when it was rescued by the girl who became the heroine of France.

St. Joan of Arc (1411?-1431) was a peasant girl born in Domremy. She seems to have been a normal child, though perhaps exceptionally devout. She never learned to read or write, but was skilful at household tasks. When she was about thirteen she began to hear voices speaking to her, and on occasions saw the speakers, whom she recognized as St. Michael the Archangel, Saints Catherine and Margaret and others. Joan was always reluctant to speak about her voices, but it is hard to doubt their supernatural reality.

By 1428 her voices convinced her that it was her vocation to save France. It was not until the following year, however, that she was able to reach the king. By picking him out of the crowd of courtiers among whom he had hid himself she won his confidence. Joan was first subjected to an investigation by a committee of bishops. When they cleared her of heresy she was permitted to join the army.

In an amazingly short time she won the confidence of the soldiers, aroused their national spirit and improved their morals. She entered Orleans and so inspired the army that the siege was raised. At Joan's insistence this was followed up by a campaign which included the victory of Patay and ended with the French king being crowned at Rheims in 1429.

During the next summer's fighting Joan was captured and held prisoner by John of Luxemburg. The French king did nothing to help her. She was sold to the English who were determined to put her to death. She was tried by a Church court for witchcraft and heresy. All during her imprisonment and trial she was deprived of all comfort and help. She had to conduct her own defence against the best theologians and canon lawyers. Again and again she confounded them. Her appeal to the Pope was ignored. She was at last condemned, forced to retract, inveigled into committing again the offense of wearing man's attire and burned at the stake in 1431.

St. Joan crystallized French nationalism, which drove out the English after her death. Other nations were taking shape at the same time. Spanish nationalism was fostered by the war against the Mohammedans. Spain was united by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1469. The Scandinavian countries were becoming

nations. Nationalism also developed in Germany and Italy, but both were prevented from becoming nations until the nineteenth century. The conflict of the many princes who made up the Holy Roman Empire kept Germany divided. The Papal States, lying across the center of Italy, effectively separated the north and south of that country.

This rising nationalism was bound to come into conflict with the international Church. We have already seen how the Council of Constance was organized along national lines, and how by the Pragmatic Sanction France was able to resist papal taxes and control in the fourteenth century. By 1500 the pressure of nationalism on the Church was stronger than ever throughout Europe.

2. The Renaissance

The trade with the East which had been stimulated by the Crusades continued throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages. The trade routes entered Europe chiefly through the Italian cities, especially Venice and Genoa, crossed the Alps and went down the Rhine to the cities of the Hanseatic League on the North Sea. All these cities prospered and produced a wealthy class who were prepared to spend money on culture. As the Italians were conveying the trade across the Mediterranean from the eastern ports, they were in contact with Greek thought and literature. It was among them that the Renaissance, inspired by the culture of ancient Greece, first appeared.

We have seen that the thirteenth century achievement was also stimulated by Greek thought in the form of a Latin translation of the works of Aristotle. Thanks to the work of St. Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas, this new learning was reconciled to and incorporated in the theology of the Church. Instead therefore of undermining the Church in the thirteenth century, the recovery of the works of Aristotle gave form and expression to its thought.

The new Renaissance was stimulated by the philosophy of Plato and the literature of classical Greece which was read in the West not only in translation but in the original as well. For beginning with Boccaccio (1313-1375) the study of Greek was promoted first in Italy and then in other countries. This was further encouraged by the visit of the Greeks to the Council of Florence in 1438-9 and by the flight of scholars from Constantinople when the city fell to the Turks in 1453. By this time the study of Greek was the rage among the educated people in Italy.

For the most part in Italy, pagan Greek literature was studied for

its own sake. This was true even when the scholars were patronized by the Church, or when they themselves were Church officials. Thus, the Italian Renaissance was a secular movement indifferent, if not hostile, to Christianity. Philosophy, politics, literature were studied and developed on the basis of Plato and Greek models with no reference to Christian theology or moral standards. The interest centered on man himself, not in his relationship to God, and this in turn fostered a way of life that was pagan in its preconceptions.

There were, of course, exceptions. Some studied Greek in order better to understand the Christian documents. Lorenzo Valla (c.1405-1457) made in 1444 a comparison between the text of the Vulgate and the original Greek New Testament. He also was the one who exposed the Donation of Constantine as forgery. Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) advocated the study of Hebrew to get back to the original of the Old Testament. The pagan trend of the Renaissance in Italy was too strong for these scholars to have much influence there. Their work was carried on in northern Europe, where the new learning was welcomed for the light it shed on Christianity.

The Renaissance produced magnificent achievements in the fine arts—painting, sculpture, architecture and music. We have only to mention among the Italians such names as Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, Cellini and Palestrina. The movement reached the other countries of Europe somewhat later but produced in them corresponding masterpieces in literature and art.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were also producing a series of inventions which were revolutionizing the way of life. First among these should be noted the use of gunpowder in war. Under the feudal system the knights were the warriors; their castles were the strongholds in which they protected and ruled their domains. Even before the introduction of gunpowder, however, the inefficiency of heavily-armed knights as fighters was becoming apparent. Henry V won the Battle of Agincourt by the skillful use of his archers against the knights in their cumbersome armor. Gunpowder finished them off. Their armor was no protection against this new weapon, and cannons made even their castles vulnerable.

Fighting passed into the hands of the foot-soldier and the artilleryman. Generals still directed the campaigns and took the credit. But they had to have soldiers to do their fighting and these were drawn chiefly from the lower classes. As warfare became more technical, a professional soldier class was developed. Even generals had to be trained in the art of war and were not always drawn from the noble

class. Towns could arm their citizens for their defense and were no longer the prey to robber barons. The knights' hold on society was broken.

Home life was becoming more pleasant and comfortable. Chimneys and glass windows were introduced into houses. In the early Middle Ages even the castles were drafty barns; the houses of the poor were smoke-filled hovels. With these new inventions a humble cottage became a home. Nor was this all. Mechanical clocks introduced order and regularity. Spectacles prolonged sight. New processes made manufactured goods available in larger quantities. All these and many others made life in this world more livable.

Perhaps the most important of these new inventions was the printed book, which began to appear about the middle of the fifteenth century. Two discoveries combined to make it possible. The first was cheap paper; the second, movable type. Formerly manuscripts had to be copied by hand. They were rare, expensive and inaccurate. As the majority of copyists were monks, the Church largely controlled the output. The printing press, on the other hand, could make thousands of identical copies. Printing became a secular trade.

Cheap books were an aid to education, to the spread of the new learning, to the circulation of ideas and discoveries, to the production of literature. Anyone with anything to say could say it to more people in a more permanent form through the printed page than he could by talking or by manuscript. But printing has not proved to be an unmitigated blessing. For bad ideas are just as easy to print as good ones and unfortunately there are more of them.

Another series of inventions expanded the geography of the known world. The compass and other nautical instruments extended the range of navigation. They were utilized to the full by Prince Henry of Portugal (1394-1460), who sent ships to explore the west coast of Africa. Finally Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1486 and Vasco da Gama reached India by this route in 1498. Meanwhile Columbus had discovered America in 1492. These explorations opened up a new and wonderful world into which adventurers poured in quest of wealth and fame.

Exploration was not confined to the earth. Copernicus (1473-1543) worked out a clearer conception of the solar system. This was confirmed by Galileo (1564-1642), the inventor of the telescope, and other astronomical discoveries were made by him.

The effect of the Renaissance on men's thinking was revolutionary. Medieval man, to be sure, had his zest for life. Yet life was hard and

uncertain. It was easy for him to think of this world as a place of exile through which he was journeying to his heavenly home. Otherworldliness was certainly not the constant attitude of every man and woman in the Middle Ages. Many of them lived selfish and worldly lives. But it was a prevailing idea, never seriously challenged even when it was disregarded. The Renaissance changed all that. This world became a more comfortable, exciting place. Man became interested in himself, proud of his achievement, hopeful that he could create for himself a brave new world on earth. His attention was increasingly absorbed by the things of this world.

3. The Rise of the Middle Class

Feudal society, apart from the officials and servants of the Church, had two main classes. At the top were the nobles and knights, the rulers and warriors. At the bottom were the serfs, the peasants who tilled the soil and performed the menial tasks. The Middle Class, merchants and skilled artisans, was relatively small and unimportant.

As trade increased throughout the Middle Ages the merchants became more numerous and wealthy. In order to carry on their business they needed a place where their goods would be safe from pillage and destruction. They gathered into towns and demanded that these towns be freed from dependence on the nobility. To this end they sought and obtained charters which made them free, self-governing cities under the Emperor or king. In Italy they rose in the fifteenth century to city states.

The merchants also wanted peace. This caused them to back the king and a strong central government that could keep the nobles in order. They were vigorous supporters of the rising nationalism. A nation, peacefully subject to its king, was an excellent market for their wares and an area from which they could get the capital for their enterprises. In return for their support of the king they strove for control over the levying of taxes.

The inventions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries increased the numbers in the Middle Class. Skilled workmen were needed in all the guilds to make the articles which were increasingly in demand. Towns grew in population. Many of the recruits were serfs who had run away from the farms. This in turn produced a shortage of labor in agriculture which made the serfs more valuable and permitted them to demand better standards. All these adjustments resulted in confusion and unrest.

The prevailing outlook of the Middle Class was mercantilism. This

was the tendency to subordinate everything to the interest of trade. It was a philosophy hard to reconcile with certain aspects of Christianity. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth." But mercantilism was destined to become dominant and Christianity had to adjust itself to it. An example of this is the definition of the sin of usury. In the Middle Ages it meant simply the taking of interest on money lent. In time it came to mean almost universally in Christian circles the taking of exorbitant interest.

As early as the sixteenth century the merchant class found their interests in conflict with the Church on several points. They looked on the wealth of a nation as the source of capital for their enterprises. Vast amounts of this wealth were in the hands of the Church and were not available for trade. The monasteries with their enormous holdings were the chief offenders in this regard. For example, in London a large area of the riverbanks suitable for docks was owned by the Church. The merchants cast a covetous eye on this property, which from their point of view was being wasted.

Again much of the nation's wealth was being sent out of the country in the form of papal taxes and fees. The Middle Class were opposed to this. We have seen how by the Pragmatic Sanction the papal revenues from France were drastically cut in the fifteenth century. Any such steps in other countries could be sure of middle class support.

Then there was the matter of holy days, which were also holidays. A master workman did not like to see his apprentices and journeymen getting so many days off. We shall find Christian groups controlled largely by the Middle Class eliminating or curtailing holy days.

One middle class attitude which was to have profound influence on religion was their attachment to the written word. A farmer is dependent on the weather and other forces of nature. These he cannot control, still less make a contract with them. On the whole he finds them dependable. The seasons follow each other in regular order. If he does his part to co-operate with nature, he reaps his crop. But he has to act on faith. Nature is not absolutely dependable. There are floods and droughts, which come unexpectedly and from no preventable cause. They are "acts of God" and introduce a note of mystery into his dealings with nature. He must accept them with humble submission.

But the city-dwelling tradesman is not dealing with these ordered yet mysterious forces of nature. He is trading with other selfish sinful men many of whom will try to get the better of him. His only

protection is to have the terms of his agreements in writing. They must be set down clearly in black and white, signed, sealed and kept for reference, or if necessary, for legal action. As far as possible the unexpected, the mysterious must be eliminated.

Men accustomed to such transactions want the same in their religion. They naturally prefer a written statement of what they are required to believe and do. Hence the Bible, the written Word of God, grows in importance in their eyes. Traditions, in so far as they are accepted, must be formulated and clearly defined. The Sacraments, those mysterious acts of God, seem less dependable. This represents a shift of emphasis from the medieval type of religion in which the average illiterate Christian depended primarily on Sacraments for his contact with God.

The attachment to the written word was a stimulus to education. Not only did the merchant want to be able to read, write and figure in order to carry on his business; he had also a respect for book-learning. Schools and universities multiplied. At first education remained in the hands of the Church. But there was a new and growing class of students. In the Middle Ages most scholars were preparing for a Church career. Now many were preparing for the learned professions or for business. As this class increased they began to replace the clergy as state officials. It was inevitable in time that they would take over education itself. Thus secular education was on the way.

The Middle Class gained varying degrees of importance in different countries. In the trading cities of Italy the ruling prince merchants became so powerful and wealthy that they passed over into the nobility. In Holland the Middle Class gained control and established the independence of the country both from Spain and from the Roman Church. The Middle Class in Germany became strong enough to protect its interests, though not to dominate the situation. France saw the growing Middle Class temporarily crushed by the struggles of the Reformation. In Spain, where the new wealth was obtained from the Americas more through conquest by knights than through trade by merchants, the Middle Class developed more slowly.

In England the Middle Class came rapidly into its own. The Wars of the Roses (1455-1485) killed off most of the higher nobility. The Tudor family, which came to the throne at their conclusion in the person of Henry VII, was so low in the scale of nobility as to be almost middle class. Parliament, of which the House of Commons reflected the middle class attitude, was gaining in importance. The Tudors looked to Parliament for their support. When in the seven-

teenth century Charles I turned against Parliament, it was strong enough to overthrow the monarchy for a time.

4. Individualism

All these new movements combined to produce the attitude of individualism, in which the individual rather than society is the factor of primary interest and concern. In the feudal system the only channel through which one not born to the nobility could raise his social position was the Church. Even in the Church it was difficult. Most of the bishops were younger sons of noble families who were wealthy and powerful enough to buy their offices. Many of those who rose from the lower classes to importance in the Church did so on the basis of sanctity. This holiness had, as its primary prerequisite, a humble self-surrender, which is the direct opposite of the pushing ambition of the self-made man, the rugged individual.

As the national state developed and began to draw its officials from other sources than the clergy, the opportunities for a man to rise increased. A skilful soldier could, with the backing of middle class wealth, rise to a position of command. A lawyer or the son of a merchant could become a prominent minister of state. An adventurer could build himself a fortune by trade or conquest in the newly discovered lands. Successful merchants or master craftsmen could so ingratiate themselves with the nobility that they might make marriage alliances with them and obtain a peerage themselves. Literature, the arts, science and discovery gave ambitious persons an opportunity to become famous for the exercise of their talents. Individuals could and did rise to prominence apparently through their own unaided efforts. More and more people were trying to achieve this. It became the accepted thing to do.

The assertion that in the Renaissance the emphasis is on the individual whereas in the Middle Ages it had been on society is one of those broad generalizations which it is easy to exaggerate and difficult to prove. Countless exceptions on both sides can be noted. The contrast was not absolute nor did the change in emphasis take place all at once. Nevertheless, it is a useful generalization pointing to a fundamental difference in the tone of culture that predominated before and after let us say the year 1500. It helps us understand some of the changes that took place in the Church at that time.

We can see the difference by contrasting the medieval and renaissance achievements in various fields. Take first the field of art. The Gothic cathedrals were the crowning glory of the twelfth and thir-

teenth centuries. They were the co-ordinated work of hundreds of craftsmen of several generations. We know the names of few individuals who contributed to them. This is not because of lost records, but because no one person dominated the undertaking. It was a team enterprise in which most of the town participated. The cathedrals were raised first to the glory of God and second to the glory of the town. The artists were offering their best and did not demand a place of prominence. Poking about in dark hidden corners, one frequently discovers exquisite bits of carving.

Contrast St. Peter's, Rome, ordered by Julius II to provide a big enough place to house his tomb and designed by Michelangelo. The dome over the crossing is interesting. Its dimensions are those of the ancient Pantheon. The Romans built the latter on the ground. Michelangelo went them one better. He built it up in the air. St. Peter's is the largest church in the world. Magnificent as it is, there is an air of pretentiousness about it. Individuals were showing off their skill.

Turn to literature and contrast Dante with Milton. *The Divine Comedy* is the whole of moral, ascetic and mystical theology expressed in matchless poetry. Its theme is the process of redemption of the human race. There is no human hero. Dante journeys through hell, purgatory and heaven chiefly in the role of a reporter. He meets innumerable persons but they all stand in subordinate relationship to the central theme. The epic ends with the majestic picture of the whole company of the blessed.

Milton's *Paradise Lost* also deals with sin and redemption. Its theology is controversially sectarian. The villain of the piece is the devil. He is, however, the most clearly defined individual. As such he so captivates Milton's interest that he is only with difficulty prevented from becoming the hero.

Drama provides the same contrast. *Everyman* is one of the famous medieval morality plays. Its hero, as the name implies, is anyone. Its theme is a human soul confronted with death. Shakespeare's Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, King Lear, on the other hand, are clearly defined individuals. They are exactly like no one else and their catastrophe stems from specific weaknesses in their own characters.

We find a like difference in hymns. Contrast the objectivity of the old Latin hymn for Advent,

Creator of the stars of night,
Thy people's everlasting light,
Jesu, Redeemer, save us all,
And hear thy servants when they call.

Thou, grieving that the ancient curse
Should doom to death an universe,
Hast found the medicine, full of grace,
To save and heal a ruined race.

with the subjective outpourings of the later age in such hymns as "When I survey the wondrous Cross," "O, Jesus I have promised," and "Just as I am without one plea."

We find the same contrast in the field of thought. To the medieval mind philosophy was the handmaid of theology. A great philosopher like St. Thomas Aquinas was first a great theologian. He was not seeking a brilliant new philosophy. He used philosophy as an aid to understanding divine truth. He depended more on revelation than on reason. In the end he left his writings incomplete as he bowed in adoration before the inexpressible mystery that had been revealed to him.

At the Renaissance, philosophy is separated from theology. The divorce becomes so complete that some have maintained that the Middle Ages could produce no philosophy because of the dominance of theology. The modern philosopher tries to devise his theory of the universe depending solely on his own reason. His name is inseparably and rightly attached to it. For it is his brain-child.

Finally we turn to the state. The medieval king is an absolute autocrat. Surely this looks like individualism rampant. It is true that many medieval rulers were selfish, ruthless tyrants. These were not, however, the medieval ideal. St. Louis IX was that. A king who was humbly obedient to the Church, fed beggars with his own hands, sacrificed more than he needed in the interest of justice, scrupulously paid his ransom when he could have gone back on his word, and devoted his chief efforts to Crusades aimed at conquests not for himself but for Christ, does not measure up to the standards of individualism.

The Renaissance, on the other hand, produced Machiavelli's *The Prince*. It is advice to a ruler on how to exercise autocratic power. All other considerations—morality, reputation, honesty—are to be subordinated to this one objective, which is to be attained by all means fair and foul. There was nothing new in the intrigues, cruelty and ruthlessness he advocates. Medieval rulers had practised them to the full. What was new was the open and shameless advocacy of them as the ideal. And those tyrants who have followed his advice—Henry VIII, Louis XIV, Napoleon, Hitler, Mussolini, to name but a few—have been acclaimed by a vast circle of admirers.

We shall see that individualism, which has dominated culture in the West since the Renaissance, had a profound effect on all branches of Christianity. Today the pendulum seems to be swinging back and the emphasis shifting once more to society. If this is true, we may find that those elements in the Church which have their origin in individualism, and which have been accepted without question during the centuries when individualism held sway, will lose their apparently unchallengeable position.

B. THE REFORMERS

1. The Humanists

The scholars who first introduced the new learning into northern Europe were inspired by Lorenzo Valla and Pico della Mirandola. Their interest in it was for the light it would cast on the documents of the Christian religion. Jacques Lefèvre (c.1455-1536) introduced it into France. One of the early English pioneers was John Colet (1467-1519). From 1496-1504 he was lecturing at Oxford, using the new approach to the Epistles of St. Paul. In 1505 he became Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and in 1509 founded St. Paul's School, establishing there an educational reform. The study of Greek had already been introduced at Oxford by Thomas Linacre (c.1460-1524) before Colet started lecturing there. In Germany John Reuchlin (1455-1522) began the study of Hebrew in order better to understand the Old Testament.

These men and their numerous disciples are known as the Humanists. They were not in revolt against the Church. They did see in the new learning, however, an instrument that would help to reform the abuses of the day by dispelling the ignorance on which they thrived. They wanted to let some fresh air into theology and to attain a clearer understanding of the Bible. But they were loyal to the Faith and had no desire to change the structure of the Church.

Chief among the northern Humanists was Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). Born in Holland, an illegitimate child, he was sent to a school in Deventer, where a noted Humanist was teaching. Erasmus' brilliant mind was given good training and he became devoted to the new learning. In 1484 his guardians placed him in a monastery school which he found intolerably stuffy. He wandered about for a while. Then his guardians insisted he enter a house of Canons Regular. The house, eager to capture so promising a recruit, at first relaxed all rules in his favor and encouraged him to pursue his studies. He felt no vocation to the Religious Life but he finally took his vows. Further

study was denied him. He was soon thoroughly unhappy. He was ordained priest in 1492.

Erasmus was rescued from his monastery by the Bishop of Cambrai, who made him his secretary in 1494, and sent him to Paris for further study in 1495. There Scholasticism disgusted him and he spent most of his time traveling about. In 1499 he went to England, where he met Colet and the other Humanists at Oxford. Colet encouraged him to study the Bible and showed him how he could hold the Faith without accepting scholastic theology. He returned to Paris to devote himself to the study of Greek. In 1506-9 he made a trip to Italy, visiting the famous universities and making a favorable impression on several Cardinals including the one who was to become Pope Leo X. The latter urged him to remain in Rome, but as Henry VIII, a patron of the new learning, had just come to the throne of England, Erasmus decided to return to that country, where he expected an appointment to some Church office.

In this he was disappointed although he remained in England for five years. He then started traveling about Europe, enjoying the patronage of many important people but never settling down to any permanent work. He was released by the Pope from his obligations to his monastery. He spent his time in study and writing. His main published works fall in two classes. First, there was his edition of the Greek New Testament, 1516, which forms the basis of modern biblical scholarship. This was followed by editions of the early Fathers. Second, there were his violent satires against the abuses of the Church, such as *In Praise of Folly*. They were written, no doubt, to stimulate reform. Had his satire been less biting, however, he might have won more friends for the new learning and the humanist movement. As it was, his denunciations were so sweeping that they were welcomed mostly by the Protestant reformers whom he probably inspired to revolt against the Church.

Conservative theologians attacked him. He continued to enjoy the support of the Pope, however, and remained loyal to the Church. Erasmus repudiated the Protestant reformers. This cost him their friendship. His efforts to get the Pope to institute reforms failed. A lonely and disappointed man, Erasmus died in 1536.

The great English Humanist was St. Thomas More (1478-1535), a friend of Colet and Erasmus. He was the son of a London lawyer and went to Oxford, where he imbibed the new learning. On returning to London he studied and then taught law. For a while he considered entering the Carthusians, but in the end decided he had no vocation

to the Religious Life, married and had four children. When his first wife died he married again. More was a man of great devotion and his home a model of Christian family life. His writings, such as *Utopia*, make him the first master of modern English prose.

More was a friend and favorite of Henry VIII. After the latter became king in 1509, More rose steadily in a state career. In his advice to the king at this time, More discouraged Henry from so zealously advancing the Pope's political claims. He urged the king to tone down his assertions of the Pope's authority in Henry's article against Luther written in 1521. When Wolsey fell from power in 1529, More succeeded him as Chancellor. He refused to have anything to do with the king's attempt to have his marriage annulled, and devoted himself to clearing up the cases before the king's court. When it became clear that Henry was going to break with the Pope and get the annulment, More resigned in 1532.

More realized that if the Church in England separated from the Pope there would be no check on the king's absolute will. For this reason he would never endorse that step. On the other hand, he consistently refused to say anything against it. But silence in so prominent a man would not satisfy the king. When More would not in 1534 swear the oath recognizing the children of Anne Boleyn as the legitimate successors to the throne, he was committed to the Tower. He bore his imprisonment in high spirits. He spent his time in writing and in preparing for death.

It was difficult to convict More of treason, since he would say nothing against the king. At last it was claimed that he had been tricked into a denunciation of the king's actions and on these grounds he was convicted. His last speech to his unjust judges is worth quoting: "More have I not to say, my Lords, but that like as the blessed apostle St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, was present, and consented to the death of St. Stephen, and kept their clothes that stoned him to death, and yet be they now both twain holy saints in Heaven, and shall continue there friends for ever, so I verily trust, and shall therefore right heartily pray, that though your Lordships have now here on earth been judges to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter in Heaven merrily all meet together, to our everlasting salvation."¹ On the scaffold where he was beheaded in 1535 More protested that he died "the king's servant, but God's first."

With More and Erasmus the hope of the Humanists to reform the

¹ Quoted in R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More*, p. 342.

Church without destroying it died. The correction of abuses by education was bound to be slow work. Events were moving too rapidly and these Catholic reformers who might have steered the Church safely through those difficult seas were swept aside.

2. Martin Luther (1483-1546)

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, Germany, the son of a peasant miner who had prospered. His upbringing was very harsh. Both his parents and his teachers believed that to spare the rod would spoil the child and they were vigorous in their efforts to prevent his spoiling. His parents would beat him for trifling faults till the blood flowed and on one day he was flogged fourteen times in school for mistakes in Latin declension. He did well in his studies, however, and was sent to the University of Erfurt where he received his bachelor's and master's degrees.

Fear was the dominant note in Luther's early religion. In addition to his harsh upbringing, he shared the popular conception of the time that pictured Christ as a stern Judge and the Virgin Mary pleading for mercy to sinners. Suddenly in 1505 Luther entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt. The reasons for this step are not known. One colorful story says he was caught in a thunderstorm and, fearing death, vowed to enter a monastery if his life was spared. Whether or not this is true, it is clear he became a monk more through fear than through a sense of vocation.

Luther was ordained priest in 1507 and continued his studies at the University of Wittenberg, getting his doctor's degree in 1512. He was a model monk, devout and conspicuous for his ascetic practices. Sent to Rome in 1510 on business of his Order, he was shocked at the luxury and corruption of the Church there. After getting his degree he became a lecturer on the Bible at Wittenberg. His theology was derived from Occam and St. Augustine. He became increasingly anti-scholastic.

In 1515 while pondering Romans 1:17, "The just shall live by faith," he suddenly conceived the doctrine of justification by faith only. Man cannot save himself by his works,—neither by ascetic practices nor the receiving of Sacraments. Only God can save man and he has done so through the work of Christ. Man must accept salvation by uniting himself with the saving action of Christ. Good works will follow as a result, but they do not contribute in any way to man's salvation.

Luther was right in asserting that man is saved only through the work of Christ. His denial that man by his own works—prayer, ascetic practices, vows—can contribute to his own salvation is simply a rejection of Pelagianism. Luther's attack on the belief that the mere performance of ritual acts, or the payment of others to perform them for you, was an aid to salvation was long overdue. Such abuses reduced religion to magic.

Man is justified, i.e., saved, by faith in Christ. That is the foundation of the Christian life. Luther's mistake was his insistence that we are saved by faith only. Luther's dramatic conversion experience was so vivid to him that he tended to consider it in itself the whole process of salvation. He made provision, of course, for the life of sacraments, prayer and good works which follows conversion. But this was always secondary and in no way contributed to salvation. For him the one thing needful was an intense whole-hearted conversion such as he had experienced.

Another idea which Luther held tended further to undermine the sacramental aspects of Christian life. This was the "Priesthood of All Believers." Every Christian, according to Luther, shares equally in the Priesthood of Christ. Ministers have certain functions to perform, but they are not agents of Christ in any sense that does not apply equally well to every layman. Hence they have not received through the ceremony of ordination an objective commission which enables Christ to use them as his agents in ministering the Sacraments. This concept of the ministry which Luther held ultimately destroys the objectivity of the Sacraments. Sacramental validity must in this case depend on the subjective faith of the recipient, not on the objective authorization of the minister, since the minister has no such authorization. Luther himself refused to draw this conclusion, but other reformers who were more ruthlessly logical accepted and taught it.

Luther's conversion experience brought him great peace of soul. It released him from the necessity of continuing his severe and gloomy asceticism. It gave him a weapon against the corrupt medieval system of indulgences, pardons and bought masses. Soon Luther had an opportunity to attack a shameful abuse. The Pope for a large bribe permitted the same man to hold the Archbishopric of Mainz, the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the Bishopric of Halberstadt. In order to let this man recover the money he paid the Pope, the latter allowed an indulgence to be preached in the bishop's territories. The proceeds were to be split half and half by the bishop and the Pope.

The indulgence was preached by the Dominicans in the most corrupt way.¹

On October 31, 1517, Luther nailed his Ninety-five Theses on the door of Wittenberg castle church. This was the customary way in which one proposed a subject for debate. The Theses were a carefully worked out attack on the abuses of the sale of indulgences. Printed and distributed throughout Germany they aroused an enthusiastic agreement that made Luther a hero to those who sought Church reform. The purchase of indulgences practically ceased.

Luther had no intention at first of breaking with the Pope. He tried to get a favorable hearing at Rome. In 1518, after an interview with the Pope's chamberlain, he agreed to keep silent and wrote a submissive letter to the Pope. But the Dominicans would be satisfied with nothing less than a clear-cut victory over Luther. A debate took place at Leipzig in 1519 between Luther and the Dominican theologian, Eck. The latter forced Luther to assert that he would not accept the Pope's endorsement of indulgences and to claim that a universal council was the final authority in doctrine. Then Eck got Luther to admit that he accepted the teaching of John Hus. Now Hus had been condemned by the Council of Constance,² which was then reckoned as a universal council. Luther could no longer maintain that he recognized that authority. He had to take the position that authority in doctrine is the Word of God as interpreted by the individual conscience. Protestantism was born.

Luther's repudiation of the Pope and of the traditional Church position now grew rapidly. The year 1520 saw the publication of his great tracts: *Address to the Christian Nobility*, an appeal to rulers to reform the Church; *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, an attack on the medieval sacramental system, in making which Luther elaborated his own theory of the Sacraments; and *On Christian Liberty*, an assertion of a Christian's freedom from the works of the Law, a proclamation of the liberty and yet the responsibility of the Christian conscience.

In 1520 Luther was condemned by the Pope and summoned to appear before the German Diet of Worms the next year. Refusing to retract, he was put under ban of the Empire, which meant it was the duty of everyone to arrest him. But Luther's ruler, the Elector of Saxony, protected him. Luther was hidden in Wartburg castle for a

¹ See p. 194.

² See p. 191.

year, where he set to work on his magnificent German translation of the Bible.

Luther during the following years proceeded to organize his Church wherever he could get the support of the local ruler, under whose patronage and protection it was always placed. Hence it was a nationalistic state Church. Ordination by bishops was changed to Ordination by priests, and bishops were eliminated. The Sacraments were reduced to two, Baptism and the Eucharist. The doctrine that the Eucharist was in any sense a reoffering of the Sacrifice of Calvary was denied, but Luther took a position close enough to the doctrine of Transubstantiation to assert that Christ is really present in the consecrated Body and Blood. He translated the service into German, but retained vestments and much of the ceremonial. He allowed the laity to receive both the bread and the wine. Penance was retained as permissible. The doctrines of Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints were denied. Monasticism and clerical celibacy were condemned. Luther himself abandoned his vows and married. Great emphasis was, of course, placed on the Bible and preaching. After his initial revolt, however, Luther became more and more conservative and ended up by retaining much of the ancient teaching and practice.

Luther spent the remainder of his life at Wittenberg living comfortably with his wife and children, writing much, enjoying the respect of those about him and revered by his many followers in Germany and other lands. Yet he was not fully happy in his last years. His health was broken by overwork. He was disappointed that his doctrine had not been universally accepted. Worn out by his quarrels with the rival reformers, he died on a visit to his birthplace in 1546.

Lutheranism spread rapidly because it was in line with the new movements. It appealed to nationalism by becoming a state Church under the protection of the ruler,¹ and by repudiating the Pope. Luther's position reflected the new learning in his rejection of Scholasticism and his Bible studies which led him to criticize the Traditions of the Church. His appeal was directly to the Middle Class and from them he received his support. They welcomed the this-worldly trend shown in his dropping of fasting and other ascetic practices. They endorsed his closing of monasteries, whose wealth they could seize. The elimination of the prince bishops and the denial of priestly privileges also had their approval. The basing of authority on the Bible alone

¹ Luther himself always rejected the idea of a state Church, but his followers were not so scrupulous.

coincided with their desire for a written religion. Finally the emphasis on personal faith and the assertion that the individual conscience is the final authority was an expression of the prevailing individualism.

3. The Radicals

Luther at first believed that his interpretation of Christianity was so obviously true that all honest Christians, including even the Pope, would accept it. When the Pope condemned him he concluded that the Papacy was hopelessly corrupt and condemned it. He was, of course, rejected by the conservatives in theology from the start. Now he lost the support of the Humanists, who, desiring reform as much as Luther did, were nevertheless loyal to the Pope and the traditional Faith.

As early as 1521, Luther was engaged on a second front. Inspired by his rejection of authority and his assertion of the supremacy of the individual conscience, other individuals and groups wanted to go further than Luther was prepared to go. In Zwickau a society was formed known as the Anabaptists. The name, which means "those baptized again," comes from their denial of the validity of infant Baptism. This led those who had been baptized as infants to be rebaptized. They also insisted Baptism must be by immersion.

The reason for this position was that the Anabaptists looked on Baptism as the seal of a man's conversion, not as the means by which God brings the soul into union with himself. Only a person old enough to choose for himself can be converted in the Anabaptist sense: therefore he alone can be baptized. The Church teaches that Baptism must be freely accepted by an act of faith and a promise to live the Christian Life. But it also recognizes that the soul needs the grace of Baptism at the earliest possible moment, in order that he may grow up as a member of the Body of Christ. Therefore, the Church encourages infant Baptism, with the sponsors making the necessary acceptance and promises on the child's behalf. There is nothing objectionable in this procedure. It is not an invasion of the child's liberty; it should not produce insincere Christians. It is doing what is best for the child spiritually, just as his legal guardians do for him in business matters when they make decisions in his name before he is of age. If the sponsors fulfil their promise to see that the child is trained in the Christian life and recognizes his privileges and responsibilities, it means simply that the child has the full benefit of his Christian inheritance from his earliest years.

Driven out of Zwickau, the Anabaptists spread over Germany. They attracted the radicals and revolutionaries. They attacked the clergy, all forms of ceremonial and even the Bible, preferring the direct inspiration of the Spirit. They attacked all authority, causing riots and uprisings.

Three of them appeared in Wittenberg in 1521. Luther was called back from Wartburg to deal with them. He repudiated them. In answering their attack on Baptism and such matters, he took the position he was thenceforth to maintain. Only that which can be proven by the Scriptures is to be accepted in matters of doctrine. But in ceremonial and custom, that which is not actually contrary to Scripture is to be retained. By this action Luther lost the support of the Anabaptists.

The next year saw the rebellion of the knights in Germany. The cause was economic. The knights were being squeezed out between the higher nobles and the wealthy towns. Their leader was Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), a Humanist who wrote a violent satire on the ignorance of the clergy, entitled *Letters of Obscure Men*. He had welcomed Luther's reforms and considered himself a follower of him. Luther, however, refused to endorse the knights' rebellion, preferring to stand with the nobles and Middle Class. The rebellion was suppressed and Luther lost the support of the knights.

In 1524 the peasants revolted. Again the cause was economic. But the Anabaptists were encouraging them and they expected Luther's support because of his statements on human liberty and the brotherhood of man. They were disappointed. After failing to pacify them, Luther denounced them and urged the authorities to repress the revolt without restraint. This was done and it cost Luther the support of the peasants. Those who became Protestants joined the more radical sects.

The Anabaptists continued to attract the most radical element. They were persecuted by Catholics and Lutherans alike. In 1534 they seized the town of Munster, driving out the officials of both state and Church. They set up their own government, which soon degenerated into anarchy and immorality. The city was recaptured in 1535 and the leaders put to death by torture.

This purged the Anabaptists of their worst element. They reorganized under Menno Simons (1492-1559), retaining congregational Church government but respecting civil authority. They are known as the Mennonites.

Meanwhile the Reformation was taking hold in Switzerland. Its

leader was Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531). He was given a good education and became a Humanist and disciple of Erasmus. In 1506 he was ordained priest and in 1518 obtained a parish in Zurich. He nearly died of the plague later that year and on his recovery was more zealous to serve God. He also became interested in what Luther was doing. As he never had a dramatic emotional conversion such as Luther's, he became a reformer more through the intellect than through the emotions.

In 1519 he began preaching reform. He advocated that the Christian community, acting through its civil authorities, should enforce the commands of the Bible. The government ordered a series of debates on controversial subjects and awarded the victories to Zwingli. In 1524 those who disagreed with Zwingli were given the choice between acceptance of him and exile. He then proceeded through the government to institute the full system of Protestant reforms. Monasteries were confiscated, their property being used to establish schools. Mass was abolished. A service in German with the sermon the chief element was substituted. Bishops were eliminated. Other cities in Switzerland and Germany followed the lead of Zurich.

Zwingli went further than Luther in rejecting the doctrine of the Eucharist. This led to a bitter controversy. Luther denied the Sacrifice of the Mass, but retained the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine. Zwingli denied both the Sacrifice and the Real Presence. He interpreted the words of Christ, "This is my Body," to mean, "This signifies my Body." The Eucharist for Zwingli was simply a memorial of the Last Supper, a sort of acted sermon which reminds the worshipper of God's love and touches his heart. The difference of the leaders on this point effectively split the Zwinglians from the Lutherans.

By 1527 the reformed cities of Switzerland were leaguering together to protect themselves from an attack planned by the parts of the country which remained Catholic. The latter, however, did not get the help they expected from Austria and signed a peace favorable to Zurich shortly after the war had begun in 1529. Two years later Zurich tried to force reform on the Catholic sections. In the ensuing battle the Catholics were victorious and Zwingli himself was killed. The peace that followed allowed each canton (state) to decide for itself what its religion would be. The lines drawn up then between the Protestants and Catholics in German-speaking Switzerland are practically the same as today. The Zwinglians, however, were later absorbed by the Calvinists.

4. John Calvin (1509-1564)

Luther's great rival in the work of the Reformation was a Frenchman, John Calvin. He was born in Noyon, the son of the secretary to the bishop and attorney for the cathedral Chapter. Calvin was sent to the University of Paris to study for the priesthood and completed his undergraduate work in 1528. By this time his father had decided he should study law. For this purpose he went first to the University of Orleans and then to the University of Bourges. Calvin had already become interested in Humanism and on the death of his father in 1531 began the study of Greek and Hebrew. He became a learned Humanist. He was never ordained a priest.

In 1532 or 1533 he had a conversion experience and began to advocate reform. Soon things got too hot for him in France and he fled to Basel. There in 1536 he published his *Institutes*. Calvin worked over and enlarged them for some years, the final edition coming out in 1559, but no basic idea was ever changed. In their completed form they are a clear and logical presentation of the Protestant position, covering all points of doctrine and practice, the *Summa Theologica* of Protestantism.

Calvin took over the doctrine of justification by faith only. Calvin makes the Will of God the center of his theology. All things exist to glorify God by absolute obedience to his will. Through Adam's fall the human race disobeyed God, became incapable of doing any good and deserves to be damned. Man is totally depraved. God through Christ paid the penalty of human sin for those he came to save. These are not the whole human race, but only those whom God arbitrarily predestines to salvation. It is God alone who decides whether a soul is to be saved or damned. Nothing the soul does has any effect on the preordained judgment. The elect are certain of salvation. The others are sure of damnation. The elect see in God's redemption the proof of his love. He did not have to ransom any souls, since all deserved damnation. Yet he has ransomed some.

The proof of election is good works. A soul predestined to salvation will do God's will once God has united him to himself through the conversion experience. Reason cannot help in finding God's will. It is revealed in the Bible. To Calvin the Bible is a legal book. Its precepts must be followed to the letter. There is something heroic in Calvin's insistence on absolute obedience to God's revealed will, but its application was legalistic and puritanical.

The weakness of Calvin's theology is the ruthless logic with which

he drew the conclusions dictated by his premises. He never seems to have realized that he was portraying God as the most horrible of absolute tyrants. Yet what is a God, who, while he arbitrarily elects certain souls to heaven, creates others for the pleasure of sending them to hell? Such a concept of God refutes itself. Even most Calvinists have quietly forgotten it.

The strength of Calvinism is that it has inspired tremendous moral faithfulness. Those who have believed themselves to be the elect of God have striven earnestly and unwaveringly to do his will. They have scorned both the allurements and the persecutions of the world. Their morality may have been grim and joyless, but it was real.

Believing that the New Testament shows that bishops were simply presbyters, in the sense of priests, Calvin eliminated bishops from his Church in Geneva. Ordination is by priests. The vocation to the ministry, however, rests on an inner sense of call confirmed by the election of the faithful. Hence the congregation has a share in the selection of ministers and considerable control over them is exercised by the ruling elders who are laymen. Calvin retained only the two Sacraments, the institution of which is recorded in the Gospels—Baptism and Holy Communion. He considered these Sacraments to be seals of God's promises rather than objective means of grace. Like Luther he denied the Sacrifice of the Mass. On the doctrine of the Real Presence he tried to find a position midway between Luther and Zwingli. He seems to have ended up with Receptionism. Christ is really present but is received only by those who have faith. This, however, is directly contrary to what St. Paul teaches (I Cor. 11: 29), "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's Body." That passage clearly means that Christ is present and received whether the person receiving has faith or not. Nothing else would give the objective contact our Lord wants to establish in the Sacraments. In the Eucharist Christ comes to us by his own act. His Presence does not depend on our faith or any other subjective attitude on our part.

The state, as everything else in Calvinism, is meant to be the instrument of God's will. Its duty is to enforce the law of God as recorded in the Bible. Calvin had the opportunity to establish such a theocracy at Geneva. He visited there by accident in 1536. He found William Farel (1489-1565) preaching reform and was persuaded to help him. Farel's efforts of four years had just brought the government of the city to adopt Protestantism. The year following, Calvin and Farel got the council to enforce their interpretation of theology and morality

on the city. This aroused opposition which banished the two reformers in 1538.

Calvin went to Strassburg, where he married. By 1541 a party favorable to Calvin was in power again in Geneva and invited him to return. He was reluctant, and when he finally did, it was on his own terms. For the remainder of his life he was virtual ruler of the city though he held no public office. He set up a system of rigid moral supervision through the ruling elders. His position was seriously challenged in 1548 by a growing opposition, but by 1555 Calvin had crushed it. A slight riot that year gave him the opportunity to execute or banish his enemies. In 1559 Calvin founded the University of Geneva. He was unquestionably the dominant figure of the Reformation when he died in 1564.

Calvinism, like Lutheranism, expressed the new movements of the time. The theocratic state was essentially an expression of nationalism in religion. Calvinism was to be used by the Dutch to achieve their independence and by the Scots to preserve their national character. Calvin's theology was a direct result of his Bible studies made possible by the new learning. His appeal was essentially to the Middle Class. His destruction of monasteries and of Church wealth, and his elimination of holy days met with their full approval. He carried the concept of the "Priesthood of All Believers" to its logical conclusion. He disposed completely not only of bishops but of the priestly caste. For his pastors, though ordained and having great disciplinary power, were not considered a higher order than the laity and were under lay supervision through the ruling elders. Far more than Luther, Calvin provided a religion of the written word both in his legalistic handling of the Bible and in his *Institutes*. He was a patron of education. Individualism manifested itself in his teaching on individual election and in his acceptance of Luther's concept of authority as being the Bible interpreted by the individual conscience—except of course that in Calvinism the individual who did the interpreting was not Luther, but Calvin.

C. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

1. The Revival of the Roman Church

The corruptions and abuses of the Church which precipitated the Reformation were not completely ignored by those close to the Papacy. As early as 1517, the same year that Luther nailed his theses to the church door in Wittenberg, a group of priests founded in Rome the Oratory of the Divine Love. Its first objective was to restore the

dignity and reverence of divine worship. The group included many distinguished and learned men, among them Giovanni Caraffa (1476-1559), who later became Pope Paul IV. They were scattered by the Emperor Charles V's sack of Rome in 1527 and reassembled at Venice, where they were joined by others including Reginald Pole, an Englishman living in exile who later was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Pope Paul III, who reigned 1534-1549, recognized in this group a potential aid in reviving the Church. He created Caraffa, Pole and four others of them Cardinals and he requested them to work out a scheme of reform. This they presented to the Pope in 1538. It is a remarkably frank indictment of the abuses of the Church at the top. It asks for greater care in selecting clergy, the appointment of priests for the good of the parish, the elimination of simony and of conferring several offices on the same person. Special objection is made to giving Cardinals bishoprics they cannot supervise. A reform of Religious Orders is requested and a better control of places of learning. The Pope is urged to stop the sale of dispensations, pardons and the superstitions fostered to sell indulgences. The Pope filed it away and unfortunately did little about it.

At about this time a new Order came into being which was to be the chief instrument for the revival of the Roman Church. It was the Jesuits, founded by St. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556). He was the youngest son of a noble Spanish family and became a knight. Defending a fortress in the war between Spain and France, he was wounded in the leg in 1521. His recovery was slow and painful. To pass the time he read the only books available, which were a life of Christ and the lives of the saints. These inspired in him the desire to imitate the latter and to become a knight of Christ.

When he was well, he set out for the shrine of Montserrat, where he spent three days preparing for a general Confession, gave away his rich clothes and hung his sword before the altar. He retired to a cave near Manresa, where he spent ten months in intense prayer. The experience he went through he subsequently wrote up in a form that could be given to others, known as the *Spiritual Exercises*. This is designed to be a month's retreat. The book is written for the conductor of the retreat, not the retreatant. Detailed directions are given on how and when the retreatant is to make his meditations, on his fasting and other ascetic practices, on how to detect what is going on in the retreatant's soul and on how to direct him.

The subject matter for the retreatant's meditations is divided into four "weeks" which are to be shortened or lengthened, however, de-

pending on the retreatant's progress. The first week is a series of considerations on sin ending with a meditation on hell. It is designed to produce deep penitence. The second week is the crisis of the *Exercises*. The retreatant is given a series of meditations on Christ as the divine King contrasted with the devil. Their purpose is not to get the retreatant to choose to serve Christ; it is assumed he has chosen that already. He is encouraged to devote himself unreservedly to the heroic service of Christ. This he does in the Election to a state of life at the end of this week. Here is the real purpose of the *Exercises*, to help the retreatant find his vocation. The meditations of the third week are on the Passion of Christ, leading the retreatant to count the cost of his decision and to find in Christ the strength to pay it. The fourth week is on the Resurrection, encouraging the hope of triumph and ending with an act of complete self-dedication. Ignatius believed that if the *Exercises* were properly conducted and seriously made they would result in heroic devotion to Christ. The use of them down the centuries has proved him right.

After leaving Manresa, Ignatius still did not know what form his vocation would take. He made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On his return, at the age of 33, he went to school in Spain. Eventually he attended various Spanish universities and finally the University of Paris in 1528. There he gathered a group of men about him who in 1534 took the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, to which they added a vow either to go on a crusade or, if that were impossible, to work in absolute obedience to the Pope. The Crusade was impossible. They went to Rome where, after various difficulties, the Pope Paul III recognized them as a tool he might find useful. Their Order was established in 1540 under the name of the Society of Jesus. They are commonly called the Jesuits.

Obedience is the keynote of the Jesuits. Those desiring to enter the Order are put through a fourteen-year training period. Every trace of self-will is crushed out of them till they become like a stick in the hands of their superiors. An elaborate system of check and counter-check by the members of the Order on each other is maintained. The Order has produced many outstanding saints and leaders. But there is a tendency for the rank and file to be cut very much on the same pattern.

The Order grew rapidly. One of its dramatic early ventures was to plunge into foreign mission work. The leader in this field was St. Francis Xavier (1506-1552), another Spaniard and one of the original members. He went out to India with the Portuguese traders, pushed

on to the East Indies and then to Japan in 1549. In the latter place he established a Church which survived without clergy through two centuries of persecution and isolation from the rest of the world. Xavier died trying to enter China in 1552.

Ignatius Loyola remained in Rome, revising his *Spiritual Exercises*, writing the *Rule* and *Constitutions* of the Order, supervising its affairs and enjoying the full confidence of the Pope. He died there in 1556.

The chief work of the Jesuits was the recovery for the Roman Catholic Church of large portions of Europe. They did this by three steps. First, they set about to educate and raise the standards of the clergy of the Church. Their seminaries are famous for their high standards. Second, they tried to convert the ruler of a country if he was a Protestant, or to win his favor if he was a Catholic. This done, they, thirdly, used their influence to establish a complete school system under the control of the Church, and to foster its interests in other ways. They had no hesitation about using intrigue and undercover methods to attain their ends. They were tremendously successful. They held France, Belgium, Austria, south Germany and the people of Ireland faithful to the Roman Catholic Church. They recovered Poland, Hungary and Bohemia. They kept the Roman Church alive in England and in other countries.

They had to pay a price for their success, however. In order to hold immoral Catholic kings faithful to the Church, they had to wink at their sins. They were continually involved in politics and intrigue. This brought them into such disrepute that, as a result of a wave of reaction against the Jesuits, the Kings of Spain and France asked the Pope to suppress the Order in 1773. The Pope commanded them to disband and, faithful to their vow of obedience to him, they quietly did so. But the Pope soon found that he could not get along without them. In 1814 they were revived. They rapidly became once more the largest and most influential Order in the Roman Church.

2. Authoritarianism

The Inquisition had first been established in the Church in the thirteenth century as a part of the campaign against the Cathari. At that time it was to be found in every country except England. The Dominicans and Franciscans were in charge of it. It was simply a special court, the purpose of which was to ferret out and suppress heretics. Like the other courts of the time, its sessions were secret, informers were used and, if the judges thought wise, the accused were

tortured to extract confessions. During the fifteenth century, the Inquisition largely died out.

The Inquisition was revived in Spain in 1478 at the request of Ferdinand of Aragon. Its purpose was to eliminate the Mohammedans and Jews. The first Inquisitor-General was Thomas Torquemada (1420-1498). The third was Cardinal Ximenez (1436-1517), a devout and learned Franciscan, Archbishop of Toledo and founder in 1504 of the University of Alcalá. He was a Humanist and published the first polyglot Bible—a Bible with the text in various languages printed in parallel columns.

When Lutheran books began to reach Spain in the 1520's, the Inquisition turned its attention to Protestants. It was used with terrible effect. For a few years Protestant ideas did seep in and spread, but by 1576 they had been stamped out. Cardinal Caraffa, whom we have met as a member of the Oratory of the Divine Love, had at an earlier time been papal ambassador to Spain. There he had observed the effectiveness of the Inquisition. When Paul III asked him to organize the Roman counter-attack against Protestantism, Caraffa included the Inquisition among the weapons to be used. St. Ignatius Loyola endorsed this proposal. It is interesting to note that Ignatius himself had been hailed before the Inquisition in Spain before he went to Paris, but he had cleared himself.

The Inquisition was set up in Italy in 1542. Protestantism was already gaining ground rapidly there. Under Paul III and his successor Julius III, Caraffa could not push the Inquisition as much as he desired. When he became Pope Paul IV in 1555, however, the Inquisition went into full swing. In 1559 he started the Index of Forbidden Books, books which no Roman Catholic may read without special permission. Pope Pius IV (1559-1565) somewhat reluctantly allowed the Inquisition to continue, but Pope St. Pius V pushed it vigorously, and when he died in 1572, Protestantism was extinct in Italy.

Thus Spain and Italy were held completely loyal to the Roman Church. The price paid, however, was high. The secret court with its informers and secret agents spread fear and suspicion. The court endorsed only the most conservative expression of the Faith; anything new or original was immediately suspect. The Inquisition did not restrict itself to purely theological subjects. Bruno the philosopher and Galileo the scientist were both condemned by it. The new learning was extinguished and neither Italy nor Spain produced anything of importance in the field of thought for the next centuries.

A council has always been considered the normal means of settling

a theological controversy. Popes have not favored this procedure because of their claims to be superior to councils. This dislike of councils was increased by those of the fifteenth century, which had declared their superiority to the Pope. When Protestantism broke out in Germany, Emperor Charles V began to ask for a council and the Pope to refuse. After Charles had sacked Rome in 1527, the Pope was forced to agree to call one. It was delayed by Charles' wars. When Paul III was elected Pope in 1534, however, he promised to assemble a council. Again wars delayed the call and, when that was issued in 1542, the council itself had to be postponed.

The Council of Trent finally assembled in 1545. It was destined to meet in three successive assemblies, lasting from 1545-1547, from 1551-1552 and from 1562-1563 respectively.

Charles V hoped to crush the Protestants by force of arms and bring them to the council in so submissive a mood that a compromise could be worked out. To this end, he wanted the council to go slowly and to do nothing unnecessarily offensive to the Protestants. But the Pope was determined that, if the council had to meet, it was to be the means of proclaiming to the world the Counter-Reformation which with the help of Caraffa he was organizing. The papal legates, one of whom was Cardinal Pole, got control of the council from the start. They prevented the council from declaring its superiority to the Pope. They killed the idea of voting by nations. Bishops were to vote individually, as they had in the early Councils. But since the Italians were most numerous, this was an advantage to the Papacy. The question of whether reform should be considered first, which the Emperor wanted, or doctrine, which the Pope desired, was settled by a compromise in which both were to be taken up simultaneously. In practice only in doctrine was serious work accomplished.

The council next decreed that the Bible and Tradition were of equal authority in determining doctrine, a direct slap at Luther. The Vulgate was made the standard text of the Bible and only the Church had the right to interpret it. Cardinal Pole was chiefly responsible for this victory. The council reasserted the doctrine of Original Sin in its traditional form, refusing to rule on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.¹ In this assertion the Calvinist teaching of the total depravity of man was denied. This was followed by a careful statement on justification which avoided Pelagianism, yet condemned Luther's justification by faith only and Calvin's predestination. The possibility

¹ See p. 254.

of certainty of salvation in this life was also ruled out. Finally the Sacraments, seven in number, were defined as real means of grace operated by Christ himself when the conditions he laid down are fulfilled. This repudiated the concept that they were mere seals of Christ's promises. Baptism and Confirmation were dealt with in detail in the traditional medieval manner.

This was the last work of the first assembly. In reform it had legislated only that bishops should preach and supervise preaching, and that bishops and priests should reside in their dioceses and parishes. In 1547 the Pope transferred the council to Bologna. The Emperor objected and the council broke up.

The Council of Trent reassembled at the Emperor's insistence for its second assembly in 1551. The Protestant leaders were brought to this session but no compromise was possible. The second assembly issued statements on the Eucharist, Penance and Holy Unction. On the Eucharist all Protestant theories were ruled out. The Real Presence was asserted in terms of Transubstantiation. Penance and Unction were defined in the medieval way. The second assembly was ended when the tide was turned against Charles V in 1552 and he had to flee Germany.

The third assembly met in 1562 after the first wars of religion in Germany were ended. Roman Catholicism was recovering and on the move forward again under the leadership of the Jesuits. It sought to recapture lost territory by preaching, education and reform. The emphasis in the council therefore shifted to the latter and it was the stormiest of the three assemblies. The Germans and French wanted such reforming concessions as the permission of the laity to receive the chalice, Mass in the language of the people and clerical marriage. The Spanish wanted the assertion that the Order of bishops was of divine origin and that the Pope is simply the first bishop. But by playing the nations off against each other, the Pope and Jesuits prevented these concessions. The only important reform measures passed were the abolition of indulgence-sellers, together with the prohibition of the sale of indulgences for evil gains, and the requirement that diocesan seminaries be established for the training of clergy. In doctrine this third assembly reaffirmed the Sacrifice of the Mass and issued statements on Holy Orders and Matrimony which made little change in the existing situation. The decrees of the council were referred to the Pope for his approval, which he gave. The council ended in 1563.

The importance of the Council of Trent was that it gave rigid form

to the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. No longer were variant expressions of doctrine and practice permissible. Everything covered by Trent was henceforth clear-cut but inflexible.

3. The Spiritual and Priestly Life

Spain not only gave the Counter-Reformation the Jesuits; from that country also came a revival of the spiritual life.

St. Teresa of Avila (1515-1582) was the daughter of a devout and noble Spanish family. She had a pious upbringing, but as a young girl she lived what she afterwards considered a frivolous life. In 1535 she entered the Carmelite Convent at Avila without her father's consent. After she had taken this step, however, he yielded and she was allowed to become a nun.

A year later she had a serious illness from which she only partially recovered. For some time she continued to keep contact with the outside world. In spite of this she began to practise meditation and to receive extraordinary experiences in prayer. Unskilled spiritual directors misunderstood the meaning of these experiences and attributed them to the devil. Teresa went through a period of confusion and conflict until at last she came in contact with wise directors who recognized the work God was doing in her soul. She passed through the usual periods of illumination and darkness and emerged finally in the highest mystic state.

In 1562 she founded a reformed convent of the Carmelites at Avila, in which the early strictness of the Rule was revived. She was granted permission in 1566 to found other houses along these lines and between 1567 and 1576 she established eleven of them. She wrote an account of her spiritual experiences in an autobiography and in two other books entitled *Revelations* and *Interior Castle* which are among the foremost treatises in mystical theology.

Teresa also inspired among the Carmelite Friars a similar reform, of which the leader was St. John of the Cross (1542-1591). He was the youngest son of a poor silk weaver who died while John was a child. His mother, however, procured for him a good Christian schooling. As John seemed incapable of learning a trade, the governor of a hospital employed him as a servant and he was able to continue his studies under the Jesuits. In 1563 he became a Carmelite and later received permission to keep the Rule in its original strictness. He was ordained priest in 1567. The next year under St. Teresa's inspiration he was allowed to found a reformed house.

The reform spread rapidly and enjoyed the support of the king. The

unreformed Carmelites, however, became jealous and felt that the reform was a reflection on them. A violent struggle ensued of which John bore the brunt. He was arrested in 1577 and imprisoned in an unreformed monastery. Here he was kept locked in a small ill-lighted cell from which he was taken to the refectory, at first daily but later less frequently, to be flogged by the monks. After nine months he escaped. He founded and ruled other reformed monasteries. They were allowed to have their own organization separate from the unreformed houses. After Teresa died in 1582, a quarrel broke out among the officers of the reformed houses. The side John backed lost and John, who was ill, was sent to a monastery where the prior was hostile and treated him unkindly almost till his death in 1591.

Besides being a mystic of the highest order, John was a poet. Apropos of his escape in 1578 he wrote a poem of exquisite beauty. Two of his most famous works were explanations of this poem, *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* and *The Dark Night of the Soul*. These treatises, together with *The Spiritual Canticle*, *The Living Flame of Love*, and others, have won for John the title Mystical Doctor. It should be noted, however, that John and Teresa emphasize the struggle and suffering of the mystical life more than other mystics.

The spiritual revival passed from Spain to France. Many names might be mentioned there, but we have space for only the most outstanding, St. Francis de Sales (1567-1622). The son of an aristocratic family of Savoy, he first at his father's desire became a lawyer. But he decided to enter the priesthood and successively was provost, coadjutor and finally in 1602 Bishop of Geneva. As that city was in the hands of the Calvinists, Francis had his headquarters at Annecy. He reformed the clergy and monasteries of his diocese and was successful in bringing many Protestants back to the Church. In 1610 with St. Jane Frances de Chantal (1572-1641) he founded the Order of Visitation Nuns. His original intention was that this Order should be engaged in active work, but the pressure of the authorities forced him to make them more cloistered than he desired.

Francis is one of the most gracious, tactful, friendly saints of the Church. He was a man of deep prayer and hard on himself both in work and in ascetic practices. Yet he was always patient and tender with others. Firm in defending principles, he did not know how to take offense at a personal insult. But for all his gentleness he had high courage. Once he went openly through Geneva though he knew it might mean arrest and imprisonment. The authorities were so astonished, however, that they took no action.

Desiring to make the prayer life available to lay people, Francis wrote the *Introduction to the Devout Life*. It is a manual of spiritual principles, directions for meditation, the use of the Sacraments, self-discipline and so forth. It has proven to be the most popular book on the subject. Later Francis wrote a *Treatise on the Love of God*, expounding the principles of the higher mystical life based on his own and St. Jane Frances' experiences. It is free from the darkness and gloom that shadows the works of the Spanish mystics.

The Jesuits were not the only group trying to raise the standards of the clergy and lay people. After receiving a good education in Florence, St. Philip Neri (1515-1595) went to Rome where he lived on charity as a layman for seventeen years. He devoted himself to prayer and to the care of the poor. He seems to have been a somewhat eccentric character, but he had a tremendous attraction for young men. Many of them at his urging entered Religious Orders. For those who remained in the world he formed the Brotherhood of the Little Oratory. Palestrina, the Church musician, was a member of this group and music formed a large element in their meetings.

In 1551 Neri became a priest, and a fellowship of priests grew up around him known as the Congregation of the Oratory. They took limited monastic vows and devoted themselves to reform. So successful were Neri's labors that he has been called the Apostle of Rome.

Another Italian deserves a word in passing. He is St. Charles Borromeo (1538-1584), a nephew of Pope Pius IV, who in 1560 at the age of twenty-one was made a Cardinal, papal secretary of state and administrator of the vacant Archbishopric of Milan. Such flagrant favoritism of relatives was characteristic of the sixteenth century Popes. But in 1563 Charles, converted by the death of his brother, was ordained priest and bishop, taking the Archdiocese of Milan. Instead of becoming a prince bishop, he placed himself under the direction of the Jesuits, lived a most austere life and devoted himself to his diocese. His example and work did much to raise the standards of the Church in north Italy.

St. Vincent de Paul (1580-1660) established in France oratorians like those of St. Philip Neri. Of a peasant family, he went to the University of Toulouse and was ordained priest in 1600. He was captured by pirates and sold as a slave in North Africa, but escaped and returned to France. Under the patronage of the Gondi family he ministered to the galley convicts. In Paris he founded his oratorians, called the Congregation of the Priests of the Mission. Their purpose was to preach missions in the country districts and to establish semi-

naries. Vincent also organized the ladies of Paris into a guild that visited and tended the sick in hospitals. He founded the Sisters of Charity, an active Order for the care of the sick and poor.

4. Roman Catholicism

The Roman Catholic Church tries to give the impression that it has simply continued unchanged through the Reformation period. This is untrue. The modern Roman Church is a creation of the sixteenth century in regard to its distinctive features. It did retain most of the ancient Catholic Faith and practice; it kept the succession of bishops and the sacramental system. It is, therefore, still part of the Catholic Church. But it was affected no less than Protestantism by those new movements which produced the Reformation. It has become different in tone and structure from the undivided Western Church of the pre-reformation period.

Fr. Gavin used to express this truth by saying, "The Roman Catholic Church is the largest of the Protestant sects." By this he did not mean, of course, that the Roman Church adopted Protestant doctrines. It flatly rejected them. But in the process of rejecting them it adopted the sect principle. The pre-reformation Church, while demanding agreement on essentials, tolerated a wide variety in expression and practice. The Protestant reformers, on the other hand, worked out what they believed to be the Christian position in detail. They demanded that their adherents accept it just as they stated it or get out and form their own church. The Roman Church in rejecting Protestantism worked out its position in similar detail. It also demands of its members that they conform or get out.

This is not to say that the distinctive elements of the post-reformation Roman Church were entirely new. They were not. They were merely an increased emphasis on certain aspects of the pre-reformation Church to the exclusion of others. But the same is true of Protestantism. Luther's doctrinal position is a restatement of some elements in St. Augustine's teaching which had been cropping up periodically down the centuries. The practical consequences of this position had been anticipated by Wycliff and Hus in their dress rehearsal of the Reformation over a hundred years earlier.

Since Protestantism and Roman Catholicism were trying to eliminate each other, they tended to emphasize opposite elements in their common tradition. Their reactions to the same social forces that produced them were likewise different. Protestantism on the whole gave full scope to the new movements that were reaching their full strength

in the sixteenth century. It let them, as we have seen, determine the religious position it took. Roman Catholicism, in opposing the Protestant reaction to these social forces, has had either to adjust to or to oppose the movements themselves. This process has made changes in the Roman Church which may therefore rightly be attributed to these movements.

Nationalism is a movement which the Roman Church refused to adopt in principle. It has not become a national Church. It has retained and strengthened the position of its international head, the Pope. Yet to do this it has had to adjust to the prevailing nationalism. It has played one nation off against the other. This was not entirely new in the sixteenth century. There was a dress rehearsal of it at the Council of Constance in the fifteenth century, when the Pope, who was elected to end the schism, re-established his dominant position and staved off reform by making separate deals with each nation.

The Roman Church used nationalism to recover territory lost to Protestants or to hold territory threatened by them. Through the Jesuits it converted or gained the confidence of rulers. They were then induced to promulgate educational and other policies favorable to the Roman Church. But to hold the loyalty of these rulers it had often to be subservient to them. Again this meddling in European politics was not new. There was, however, a difference. Innocent III had been strong enough to force rulers to do his will. At times at least he used this power to correct the moral lapses of kings, as when he made Philip Augustus of France take back his wife. After the Reformation the Popes did not dare to take a bold line. They had to adjust their policies, and even at times their interpretation of morals and doctrine, to the wishes of Catholic kings. The tendency to play politics, which had been present in the pre-reformation Church and which was one of the chief reasons why the reformers rejected the Papacy, was increased in the Roman Church by its efforts to retain the supremacy of the Pope.

At first the new learning had a warm welcome in countries which were to remain faithful to the Roman Church. In Italy the Popes and other Church officials were among its earliest patrons. This had a detrimental effect on the Roman Church. Patronage cost money. The process of raising papal revenue increased the abuses and corruptions of the Church. Likewise, the early geographical discoveries were the work of Spain and Portugal. The Church sent its missionaries along with these enterprises and in some instances the missionaries were the pioneer explorers. Yet earnest missionaries were in the minority. The

Church as well as the state tended to be corrupted by the wealth which was extracted from these colonies by a process of exploiting the native population. Thus the Latin American Church retains its hold on its people largely by superstition and ignorance.

When the new learning began to produce Protestantism, however, the Roman Church turned against it. By the Inquisition it was stamped out in Italy and Spain. The Council of Trent required that the Faith be stated in terms of the scholastic philosophy, which had been rejected by the exponents of the new learning. This has made the Roman intellectual position rigid and reactionary. It has had difficulty in absorbing the truths which the new learning discovered. The uncorrected Vulgate Bible was made the official text and criticism of it in the light of the Greek and Hebrew originals has been discouraged. The reading of the Bible by lay people was prohibited for centuries, though recently the Roman Church has reversed its position on this point. The services of the Church have been kept in Latin and official service books have been issued by the Pope. Only groups which for some special reason have dispensation from the Pope can use anything else.

All this has changed the tone of the Roman Church. The Western Church had always demanded the acceptance of the fundamentals of Christian Faith and practice. It had been diligent in condemning and stamping out heresy. Yet it had allowed variety in non-essentials. For instance, service books differed in various dioceses. To enforce uniformity in these minor matters, the Roman Church has not only become rigid; it has had to establish a centralization of authority and control in the hands of the Pope that amounts to a spiritual dictatorship.

The Roman Church has not been successful in its appeal to the Middle Class. For this reason it has prospered best in those countries where the Middle Class developed most slowly—Spain, Italy, south Germany. In France, as we shall see, its final triumph resulted in the expulsion of the Middle Class. When this class did rise to power in Roman Catholic countries during the nineteenth century, the Roman Church lost many of its privileges and in some instances has been expelled.

Even so the Roman Church has had all along to make concessions to the middle class desires. Capitalism has received its blessing. Monasteries and Church wealth were saved from confiscation by permitting the income of bishoprics and abbeys to be bestowed by the king on state officials who hired someone else to perform their spiritual

duties for them. Holy days of obligation, on which the faithful must get off from work to attend Mass, have been reduced to a minimum. Fasting and abstinence requirements have been greatly curtailed. Education has been fostered. By keeping it under its control the Roman Church has made it an excellent means of propaganda. The demand for a written formulation of religion has been met by the decrees of Trent, by the official catechisms and by the required service books.

The underlying individualism of the culture which took shape in the sixteenth century has definitely affected the Roman Church. No less than Protestantism, it has been concerned chiefly with the means of saving the individual soul. Spiritual books, both the writings of the mystics and the manuals for the average Christians, have concentrated on the psychology of the devotional life. Though the Mass was retained, the sense of corporate worship was lost. The faithful have, until recently, been encouraged to busy themselves with private devotions while being physically present at Mass. The prayer life of the people has consisted primarily of rosaries, novenas and other like exercises which have no relation to the Sacraments.

The authority of the Roman Church is no less individualistic. Although the Protestant exaltation of the individual conscience has been rejected, Roman authority has been concentrated in an individual, the Pope. That trend has reached its final form in the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, which asserts that the Pope, as the mouthpiece of Tradition, is in himself incapable of making a mistake in Faith or morals when he speaks officially.

It is important to recognize the extent to which the modern Roman Church is the creation of sixteenth century movements for two reasons. First, if the Roman Church had continued unchanged as the universal Western Church, there would be no hindrance to reunion with it by groups that have retained or recovered their Catholicism. But the Roman Church has changed, and these changes are at present insuperable obstacles to reunion. Second, these changes, having their origin in sixteenth century culture, will probably not outlast that culture. While that culture was unchallenged, those features of the Roman Church were accepted without question by those who followed the Roman adjustment to the new movements rather than that made by Protestantism. But now, if that culture is dying, we may expect those features to lose their hold. There are already signs in Roman circles that they are.

- See Review Outline IX. Background of the Reformation.
X. Divisions of the Church.
XI. Events of the Reformation
(16th Century).
XIII. Leaders of the Modern Church.
See also Chart XI. The Roots of the Reformation, p. 258.
Map. Europe After the Reformation, p. 250.

CHAPTER IX

The Church Divided

A. THE WARS OF RELIGION

I. The Struggle in Germany

CHARLES V (1500-1558) inherited Burgundy and the Austrian possessions from his father. From his mother he inherited the united Spanish kingdom with its American possessions. In 1519 he was elected German Emperor. He was therefore the ruler of almost half of Europe before he was twenty years old. He was a sincere and ardent Catholic. But his domains were so extensive and he was involved in conflicts on so many fronts that he was not always able to carry out his policies.

One of his first acts in Germany was to summon Luther to the Diet of Worms in 1521, where, as we have seen, the ban of the Empire was placed upon Luther. As the Elector Frederick of Saxony protected Luther, however, the latter could be captured only by forcing the Elector to give him up. Charles had other things to do. He was engaged in a war with France, 1522-1529.

In 1525 Elector Frederick died and was succeeded by his brother John, who was an avowed Lutheran. By this time other German princes had espoused Lutheranism. They formed a league of Lutheran princes in answer to a league of Catholic princes. War, however, did not break out because the Turks, having overrun the Balkans, were pushing rapidly through Hungary. It was felt that the Empire must be united to face this threat from the East. At the Diet of Speier in 1526 it was decided that for the time being each German prince could arrange the religious affairs of his territory as he saw fit.

At the Diet of Speier in 1529 the Catholics felt strong enough to repeal the permission granted to the princes in 1526 and to demand that Roman worship and authorities be restored throughout the Empire. The Lutheran princes protested this action. For this reason they were called "Protestants," which is the origin of the name.

Charles, freed from his war with France, turned his attention to German affairs. He asked the Lutherans to submit a statement of their position to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. This they did. The statement is known as the *Augsburg Confession*. It was chiefly the work, not of Luther, but of one of his earliest and most trusted disciples, Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560). Melanchthon was a grandnephew of Reuchlin and an outstanding scholar. He was attracted to Luther shortly after the publication of the Ninety-five Theses, and by the summer of 1518 had been brought to Wittenberg as professor of Greek. He remained Luther's righthand man. His quiet, scholarly nature was a needed counterbalance to Luther's fiery impetuosity. Melanchthon, like Calvin, remained a layman.

The *Augsburg Confession* is important as it was a clear-cut statement of the Lutheran position in its most conciliatory terms. The Catholics rejected it in full and no compromise was effected in the Diet. But the *Confession* served as a basis for signing up new German cities as members of the Lutheran league.

Although Lutheranism was again condemned in 1530 and the princes who adhered to it given only a year to conform to the Catholic Church, no action was taken against them. For by this time the Turks were besieging Vienna, and in 1532 Charles himself left to deal with affairs in Italy and Spain. He did not return to Germany until 1541. During the interim Lutheranism continued to gain territory. In 1540 and 1541 discussions between leading Protestant and Catholic theologians took place at Charles' request, but no compromise was possible.

Charles then determined on a new plan. He would get the Pope to call the long-promised Council of Trent. Charles would break the power of the Lutheran league. Then the Protestants could be brought defenseless before the council and be forced to submit. The council was to meet at Trent in 1542.

Charles' effort to split the Lutherans was aided by an episode that occurred in 1540. The leading Lutheran prince, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, who claimed to be unable to be faithful to his wife, whom he did not love, decided that the Bible nowhere forbade bigamy. With his wife's consent, therefore, he determined to add a second wife. To

make his position sure, he consulted Luther and Melanchthon, who gave their consent. Melanchthon was present at the "marriage." The scandal put Philip in Charles' power. Philip had to promise to make no foreign alliances in order to escape further punishment. A split between him and the other Lutheran princes was effected.

The council had to be postponed however, as Charles was again involved in wars. These were cleared up by 1545. France was quickly defeated. The Turks, busy with a war in Persia, made a truce with Charles. The Council of Trent opened in 1545. Charles further split the Lutheran princes and in a short war succeeded in capturing them all by 1547. His great plan should have worked perfectly.

But Charles was defeated by the Council of Trent. Instead of going slowly and adopting a conciliatory attitude, it had, as we have seen, stated the Faith in as strongly anti-protestant form as possible. Now that the Emperor was free from his war with the Lutheran princes and able to devote his attention to the council, Pope Paul III decided it would be well to get the council away from the Emperor. For Charles was making it clear that he expected the council to make some concessions that would satisfy the Lutherans and produce a permanent settlement. The Pope therefore transferred the council to Bologna. When Charles objected, the council broke up in 1547.

The next year Charles arranged an interim agreement which gave the Lutherans some concessions. It was not accepted by the Catholic princes but was enforced on the Lutherans. In 1549 Paul III died. His successor Julius III was more friendly to the Emperor. He convened the Council of Trent again in 1551. The Protestant leaders appeared before it the next year, but nothing could be accomplished.

Charles thought he still had Germany under control as he did in 1547. He proved to be wrong. The princes, Lutheran and Catholic, jealous of his power, rose against him. In a surprise attack Charles was nearly captured before he got out of Germany in 1552. A treaty was drawn up referring the religious question to the next Diet. Charles, who was unwilling to tolerate Lutheranism and saw that such toleration was inevitable, handed the government of the Empire over to his brother Ferdinand.

The Peace of Augsburg, 1555, temporarily settled the religious struggle in Germany. Each prince could choose for his own territory between Catholicism and Lutheranism. His choice was to be the only religion in the territory. Subjects who did not like it could sell their property and move elsewhere. Territories which were Catholic in 1552 could not subsequently become Lutheran. The choice in the

other territories was to be between Lutheranism and Catholicism only. Calvinism was not allowed.

2. The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)

The Peace of Augsburg did not permanently settle the religious struggle in Germany for three reasons: 1.) Lutheranism continued to advance after 1552, occupying territories which were not, according to the treaty, supposed to give up Catholicism. 2.) The princes of certain territories in west Germany became Calvinists and established that religion. 3.) After 1566 the Counter-Reformation had revived the Roman Church to the point where it began to reclaim territories. By 1608 the Catholics felt strong enough to demand the restoration of all property confiscated after 1552. The Protestants responded by forming a defensive union. The next year the Catholics formed an opposing league. War did not break out immediately but the sides were drawn up.

The war finally started in Bohemia in 1618. That territory was Catholic but the people were mostly Protestant and they had enjoyed toleration since 1609. In 1617 a strenuous adherent to the Counter-Reformation gained control of the country and began to suppress Protestantism. Two of his officials were thrown from a window in Prague in 1618. Bohemia rose in revolt and the Thirty Years' War had begun.

At first the Protestants were successful. They gained control of Bohemia and elected Frederick V, the Elector Palatine, who was a Calvinist, as their king in 1619. The next year however, Bavaria with help from the Spanish Netherlands, defeated the Bohemians and captured Prague. Frederick fled. In 1620 the Palatinate was invaded by the Catholics. It was conquered and given to Bavaria in 1623. With the help of the Jesuits the Counter-Reformation was vigorously enforced on both Bohemia and the Palatinate. Protestantism was also suppressed in Austria.

The Catholics now prepared to conquer northwestern Germany. The King of Denmark, with some assistance from England and Holland decided to come to the aid of the Protestants. This caused the Emperor of Germany in 1626 to call on Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583-1634), a most able general, to raise an army. In the next two years Wallenstein conquered most of northern Germany. He concluded a peace with Denmark in 1629, by which the king, in exchange for being allowed to keep his own territories, agreed not to meddle any further in Germany.

The Emperor now ordered a complete return to the Peace of Augsburg. All properties confiscated from the Catholics since 1552 were to be given back and all Protestants were to be expelled from Roman Catholic territories. Only Lutherans were to be tolerated elsewhere.

Before this edict could be enforced, however, the Catholics fell to fighting among themselves. The year 1630 saw two decisive events. The Catholics, jealous of Wallenstein's power, forced the Emperor to dismiss him. Gustav Adolph, the Lutheran King of Sweden, landed in Germany.

Gustav Adolph was a great general but at first he could do little as he had no allies. In 1631 he made a treaty with France. The real ruler of France at that time was a Cardinal of the Roman Church, Armand-Jean de Richelieu (1585-1642). It might seem extraordinary that this Roman prelate should be an ally of a Protestant king. But Richelieu never let his religion interfere with alliances with Protestants, or even with Turks, if they would help France embarrass Spain and Austria. With the money supplied by Richelieu, Gustav Adolph was able to make speedier progress. He also induced the large Protestant states of north Germany, Brandenburg and Saxony, which had been holding aloof, to become his allies. With their help Gustav Adolph defeated the Catholics at Leipzig and overran north Germany. He established himself at Mainz on the Rhine. The Saxons took Prague. In 1632 Gustav Adolph attacked Bavaria and captured its capital, Munich.

Meanwhile the Emperor recalled Wallenstein and asked him to raise an army. Wallenstein met Gustav Adolph later in 1632. Wallenstein's army was defeated, but the Swedish king was killed in the battle. Wallenstein retired to Bohemia and started negotiations with Sweden and France, possibly with the idea of becoming King of Bohemia. At the Emperor's suggestion Wallenstein was murdered by his own soldiers in 1634.

Spanish troops had by that time been introduced into south Germany. They defeated the Swedes in a decisive battle. This convinced everybody in Germany of two things. The Catholics could not reconquer and hold north Germany. The Protestants could not conquer the south. A peace was made at Prague in 1635 between the Emperor and Saxony. Territories were to be divided between Lutherans and Catholics as they were in 1627 and to be held unchanged for forty years. At the end of that period a court composed equally of Catholics and Protestants would make the final disposition of them. No privileges were granted to Calvinists. All Protestant Germany accepted the peace. It should have ended the war.

It did not. For thirteen years more France, Sweden and Spain fought each other on German soil. This was no longer a war of religion. It was a conflict of these nations for their own aggrandizement. France gained most, getting the major part of Alsace. Sweden retained the north shore of the Baltic. The only German prince who got anything out of the conflict was the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, whose descendants were to be the Kings of Prussia who in 1870 united Germany.

The war was finally ended by the Peace of Westphalia, 1648. The religious settlement took the year 1624 as the norm. Calvinism was given full rights along with Lutheranism and Catholicism. But while the ruler could still determine the religion of his people, in territories where the religious worship was divided in 1624, the division was to continue in the same proportion. No privileges were to be allowed to Protestants in Bohemia or Austria.

The peace was so fair that nobody liked it. But Germany was exhausted. There was no longer either the energy or the desire to fight about religion. Men turned to other things. The conflicts of the next century were to be purely national. The wars of religion were over.

The effect of the Thirty Years' War on Germany, however, was devastating. The land had been laid bare by the plundering armies. The population was reduced to about one-third of what it was at the outbreak of hostilities. Trade had almost ceased. The intellectual, moral and spiritual life was at a low ebb. The war was a horrible tragedy, all the worse because it was fought in the name of religion.

Yet before we condemn it too severely, we should note one positive factor. War is not the way to settle religious problems. The men and women of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have been mistaken in thinking that they could promote the cause of religion by war. But at least they cared enough about their Faith to fight for it, yes, to die for it. Surely this is better than not caring at all. Tolerance is a Christian virtue. Indifference is not. Those who battled over religion may not have grasped the importance of loving tolerance. But at least they were not indifferent.

3. The Huguenots

Although Calvin fled from France and settled at Geneva, his doctrine found its followers among the French Middle Class. They were known as Huguenots. By 1559 there were several hundred thousands of them and they held their first synod in Paris. Although most of the Huguenots were poor artisans, two of the leading families of

France were attached to their cause. These were the Bourbons of Navarre and the house of Chatillon, whose leader was Admiral Coligny, an ardent Calvinist.

The leader of Roman Catholicism in Europe at this time was Philip II, who had succeeded his father, Charles V, as King of Spain. Philip was determined to stamp out Protestantism not only in his dominions, which included the Netherlands, but also in the rest of Europe. Accordingly the Catholic party in France, of which the Duke of Guise was the leader, looked to him for support. When Francis II, who married Mary, Queen of Scots, niece of the Duke of Guise, came to the throne in 1559, the Catholic party was in complete control. The willingness of this party to subordinate French interests to those of Spain caused many French patriots to join with the Huguenots in opposition to them.

An attempt by the Huguenots to capture Francis II in 1560 failed. This would have resulted in the execution of some of the Huguenot leaders had not Francis died later in the year. He was succeeded by his eleven-year-old brother, Charles IX, who reigned 1560-1574. The real ruler was the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, who determined to strengthen the power of the king by causing the leading families to fight each other. She therefore pardoned the Huguenot leaders, permitted a public discussion between Protestants and Catholics in 1561 and gave toleration to the Huguenots in 1562.

This had the desired effect. There followed three wars between Catholics and Huguenots, 1562-1563, 1567-1568 and 1568-1570. In the course of them all the heads of the leading families were killed except Coligny. At their conclusion toleration of the Huguenots was confirmed. Coligny gained complete influence over Charles IX. On August 18, 1572 Henry of Navarre, who had succeeded his father as head of the Bourbon family, was married in Paris to the king's sister.

Meanwhile the Protestants of the Netherlands had risen in revolt against the oppression of Philip II. Coligny urged Charles IX to revert to the usual French policy of opposition to Spain and to go to the aid of the Dutch Protestants. This was too much for the Queen Mother, who felt that Coligny's influence was far too strong. She tried to get Coligny assassinated and, the attempt failing, decided on a general massacre of Huguenots who were still in Paris after the wedding. The massacre took place on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572. Perhaps as many as 8000 Huguenots were killed in Paris, including Admiral Coligny, and many more throughout France. Henry of Navarre escaped by agreeing to give up Protestantism.

Nevertheless the Huguenots were still strong enough to survive four more wars in 1573, 1574-1576, 1577 and 1580. Henry III, Charles' brother, had succeeded him in 1574. When Henry III's younger brother died in 1584, Henry of Navarre, who had rejoined the Protestants in 1576, became heir to the throne. The next year (1585) the Pope, at the request of the French Catholics and the King of Spain, declared Henry of Navarre incapable of inheriting the kingdom. The Catholic party also forced Henry III to withdraw the toleration of the Huguenots. This provoked the final war between the Catholics and Huguenots, known as the War of the Three Henrys.

The third Henry was the Duke of Guise, who led the extreme Catholic party. Paris, which was fanatically Catholic, supported him. In 1588 the Catholics forced Henry III, who was not pressing their cause strongly enough to suit them, to leave Paris. Henry III then had Henry of Guise murdered and joined forces with Henry of Navarre. Henry III was murdered by a fanatic monk in 1589 and Navarre became King Henry IV. He had, however, to subdue the Catholics before he could establish himself on the throne. The Catholics were defeated in 1590, but Henry IV was still unable to take Paris in 1592 because of the aid Spain gave his enemies. But the following year Henry decided to become a Catholic. He is supposed to have remarked, "Paris is worth a Mass."

Henry IV had still to make his peace with the Pope. This should have been difficult. The Spanish were in control of the Papacy and they were determined to keep Henry IV off the throne of France. In 1592 the Pope died, and a successor had to be elected. The Cardinals sympathetic to Spain were in the majority. Philip had sent a list of persons who would be acceptable to him as Pope. The strongest candidate, Cardinal Sanseverina, was an unpleasant character, but everyone thought his election was inevitable. Had he been elected, he would probably have done Philip's bidding and refused to accept Henry IV. This might have forced France out of the Roman Church.

When the Cardinals assembled for the election, the Spanish Cardinals gathered around Sanseverina and prepared to elect him by acclamation. A secret ballot, however, was demanded. Under the protection of its secrecy some of the Spanish Cardinals dared to express their dislike of Sanseverina by voting against him. He was not elected. The last candidate on Philip's list was made Pope, taking the name Clement VIII.

Philip had nominated Clement only as a favor to one of his allies, not expecting him to be elected. Instead of carrying out Philip's policy,

Clement, after protracted negotiations, accepted Henry IV's conversion as sincere. Thus France was saved for the Roman Church. Whether sincere or not, Henry's conversion was a good thing for France. The majority of the people wanted a Catholic king. Henry, however, did not forget his Protestant friends. In 1598 he issued the Edict of Nantes, which granted toleration to the Huguenots. This permitted Huguenots to serve as public officials, allowed them places of worship wherever they had had them in 1597, with the exception of five cities, and placed other fortified cities in Huguenot hands as a guarantee that their rights would be protected.

Henry IV was assassinated in 1610. He was succeeded by his son, Louis XIII, who was only nine years old. His mother was Henry IV's second wife, Marie de Medici. It is interesting to note in passing that the Pope had dissolved Henry IV's first marriage in 1599 so that he could marry again. While Louis XIII was a child his mother acted as regent. She reversed Henry IV's policy and made alliances with Spain.

But in 1624 Cardinal Richelieu became Louis XIII's adviser and henceforth directed the policy of France till his death in 1642. Richelieu's chief objectives were the centralization of all power in the hands of the king and the exaltation of France at the expense of Spain and Austria. We have already seen that to accomplish the latter Richelieu did not hesitate to form alliances with Protestants and Turks.

In France, however, the opponents of Richelieu's policy of centralization were the Huguenots, and the Cardinal could follow a line more in keeping with his position in the Roman Church. The Huguenots, in order to raise their children as Protestants and to protect their interests, had their own schools and other social organizations. To Richelieu they seemed a state within a state and he determined to break their power. In 1628 their stronghold of Rochelle was taken. From then on they were subjected to increasing pressure from the Jesuits and to minor persecutions. This policy was continued by Richelieu's successor, Cardinal Mazarin, who ran France during the minority of Louis XIV. When Louis XIV became king in his own right he alternated persecution with missions to convert the Huguenots until he was finally convinced that they could not be brought into the Roman fold. He revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685. This drove most of the Huguenots out of France. It was a great loss to that country for they were the best artisans. They went to England, Holland, Prussia and America, and were a source of strength to those

countries. The few who remained in France continued as a small, persecuted Protestant Church.

4. European Settlement

It never occurred to anyone in the sixteenth century that a satisfactory religious situation could be achieved with more than one Christian group functioning in a nation. During the Middle Ages, Church and state had been so closely allied that they were two aspects of the government of the same society. Everyone expected this arrangement to persist after it became clear that the Reformation had permanently split the Church. One or another of the divided Christian groups would be not only the official but the sole religion of each nation. The struggles of the sixteenth century were the result of the different Christian groups trying to get full control of the various nations.

We have already studied the conflict in the key countries. We have seen that the final solution in theory held closely to the principle of one religion for one nation. In Spain, Portugal and Italy, among the places we have considered so far, this was actually achieved. Those countries did end up completely loyal to the Roman Church. Protestantism was for all practical purposes stamped out in them. In Austria, Bohemia and Bavaria, the largest territories in south Germany, the Roman Church also achieved an overwhelming victory. France finally reduced its Protestant minority to insignificance after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

Germany and Switzerland emerged from the struggle officially divided. Yet the principle of the unity of religion within a state determined the division. Germany was not a nation. It was an Empire composed of semi-independent states. The final settlement was that the ruler of each state could determine the religion of his territory. An exception was made, however, in some places where the religious minority was too large to be dislodged. It was allowed to continue in the same proportion to the population. Switzerland was also a federation of self-governing cantons. Each canton decided what its religion should be.

It remains now to see what happened in the other countries of Europe. Hungary at first developed a strong Protestant group, mostly of the Calvinist type but with some Lutherans. This movement received support from the princes because of their political opposition to the Catholic ruler of Austria. For a time it looked as if Protestantism would become the dominant religion in spite of the peasants' ad-

herence to Catholicism. In 1567, however, the Jesuits began to penetrate the country. As late as 1619 the Protestants were holding their own; but by 1625 the Catholics controlled the government and Protestantism was speedily repressed. In Transylvania the Protestant triumph was even more complete up till the middle of the sixteenth century than in Hungary. But the Calvinists and Lutherans fell to quarreling and the Jesuits entered Transylvania in 1579. By the end of the century, the Roman Church was in control.

Protestantism of all types—Moravians, Lutherans and Calvinists—invaded Poland during the sixteenth century. Adherents were gained among the Middle Class and the nobles who were jealous of the power of the Catholic king. The peasants, however, remained Catholic. Through the support of the nobles, Protestantism achieved toleration in 1573. Stephen Báthory, who reigned 1574-1587, like Henry IV of France, became a Catholic to secure his crown. He continued the toleration of Protestants, but he encouraged the Jesuits, who were already at work in Poland. His grandson, Sigismund III, who succeeded him to the throne in 1587, was an ardent exponent of the Counter-Reformation. When he died in 1632, Protestantism had been reduced to an insignificant minority. Lithuania was part of Poland at this time.

In 1523 Frederick I became King of Denmark and in 1526 declared himself a Lutheran. That religion gained rapidly under his patronage. He was succeeded by his son Christian III in 1533 who, after a civil war, was established on the throne by 1536. Christian was an ardent Lutheran and the Catholic Church was abolished. Superintendents were set up for the state Lutheran Church, who took the title bishop but did not have the Apostolic Succession. Norway, a dependency of Denmark, was conquered by Christian III in 1537 and Lutheranism was imposed upon it. Iceland, also under Danish rule, saw Lutheranism introduced in 1540. By 1552 it was completely triumphant.

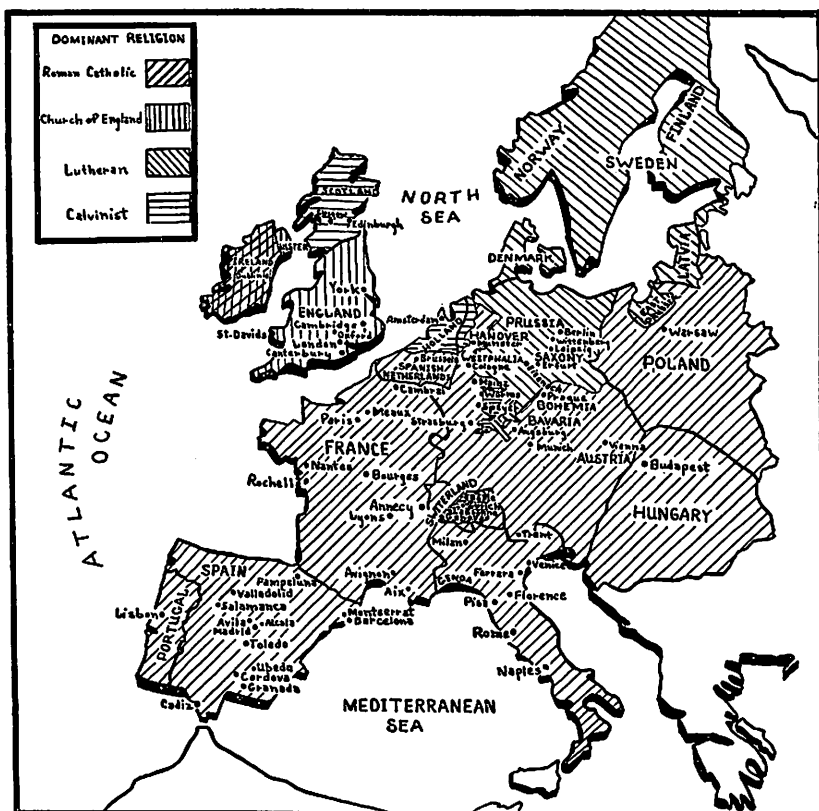
Sweden broke off from Denmark in 1523 and made Gustav Vasa king. As early as 1519 Lutheranism was being preached there. Gustav favored it from the start. Partly because of Lutheran convictions, partly because he needed the Church's wealth, Gustav took over the Church in 1527. His was the most conservative form of Lutheranism, however. New bishops were appointed to succeed the Catholics who fled, but as they were consecrated by one of the old bishops, the Apostolic Succession was maintained. An attempt to restore Catholicism was made by Sigismund III of Poland when he became King of Sweden in 1592. His efforts were defeated and he was deposed as

King of Sweden. Charles IX, the father of Gustav Adolph, was made king in 1604. Thenceforth Lutheranism was established. Finland was part of Sweden and followed it into Lutheranism. The same religion was established in Estonia and Latvia, due to the Swedish dominance of the Baltic in the seventeenth century.

East Prussia, which in the sixteenth century was not part of the Holy Roman Empire, became Lutheran in 1525 and remained so.

Lutheranism invaded the Netherlands in 1519 and won adherents. The country, however, was under Spanish rule. With the help of the Inquisition, Lutheranism was largely suppressed by 1550. In 1561 the high-handed policy of Philip II aroused resentment. Calvinism by this time was winning adherents and it became the rallying point for opposition to Spain. Open rebellion broke out in 1566. At first the Spanish general, the Duke of Alva, was successful in repressing it, but he antagonized the people. He left the Netherlands in 1574. By 1578 the Calvinists had made large gains. Another great Spanish general, the Duke of Palma, took command in 1578. He recovered the ten southern provinces, the modern Belgium, which remained Catholic. He could not conquer the seven northern provinces, the modern Holland, which became independent. Calvinism was the official religion, known as the Dutch Reformed Church. Tolerance was granted to the Anabaptists in 1577.

The hero of the Reformation in Scotland was John Knox (c.1505-1572). An obscure Protestant preacher, he was captured by the French in 1547, when they helped the Catholics in Scotland suppress the Protestant stronghold of St. Andrews. He was a galley slave for nineteen months. On his release he went to England, where he became a chaplain of Edward VI. He had to flee from England when Mary Tudor came to the throne in 1553. He went to Geneva, where he became an ardent Calvinist. In 1555 he returned to Scotland. When Mary, Queen of Scots, married the heir to the French throne, Scottish resentment at becoming a dependency of France flared up. Knox crystallized this by preaching Calvinism. With the help of the English the Catholic Church was replaced by Presbyterianism in 1560. After the death of her first husband, Francis II, in 1560, Mary returned to Scotland. At first she won the people's hearts and her faithfulness to the Roman Church endangered Protestantism. In 1565 she married Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, who became a Catholic. They had a son James in 1566. Mary turned against her husband. He was murdered. Public opinion charged Mary with having plotted his death and resentment rose against her. After her marriage in 1567 to Bothwell,



EUROPE AFTER THE REFORMATION

who was generally believed to have been Darnley's murderer, she was imprisoned and forced to abdicate in favor of her son James. Mary escaped from her imprisonment in 1568 and fled to England. There, however, she was soon committed to prison and finally executed in 1587 for her plots against Elizabeth.

Ireland, which was a dependency of England, had the Church of England officially imposed upon it as a state Church supported by taxes. The people of Ireland, except in Ulster, however, used Roman Catholicism as a means of expressing their resentment at English rule and steadfastly refused to enter the official Church.

The following is a summary of the countries of Europe in which the chief Christian groups were dominant at the end of the Reformation struggle:

Roman Catholic: Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Belgium, south Germany, Bohemia, Austria, south Switzerland, Hungary, Transylvania, Poland and Ireland except Ulster.

Lutheran: North Germany, Prussia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Latvia and Iceland.

Calvinist: North Switzerland, parts of western Germany, Holland and Scotland.

Church of England: England and the official Church of Ireland.

B. FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

1. The Age of Louis XIV

The last half of the seventeenth century was dominated by the Court of Louis XIV (1638-1715). Although his father, Louis XIII, had married in 1615, it was not until twenty-three years later that his first son was born. Therefore Louis XIV was not yet five years old when he became king in 1643. His mother, Anne of Austria, and Cardinal Mazarin ruled France. They had difficulty in maintaining Louis on the throne because of conspiracies of the nobles and the war with Spain in which France was involved. By 1659, however, Louis' enemies at home and abroad had been defeated. The next year Louis cemented the peace with Spain by marrying a Spanish princess, Maria Theresa, and began to rule France in his own right. When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis became and remained for the rest of his life his own prime minister.

Louis was under the control of the Jesuits. His personal religion was both formal and superstitious. It had little effect on his morals. The dominant figures in his Court were his avowed mistresses. In 1679, however, Madame de Maintenon became his favorite. She was a woman of virtue and devotion. She used her position to reconcile Louis with his Queen. After the latter's death in 1683, Madame de Maintenon was married to Louis, although she did not become Queen of France. Through her influence a more Christian spirit was manifested by Louis and his Court.

Louis had no use for anything that smacked of deep devotion, enthusiasm and zeal. For this reason he heartily endorsed the Jesuits' condemnation of the Jansenists. Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), a Dutch Roman Catholic scholar, spent his life writing a commentary on St. Augustine which was published after his death under the title *Augustinus*. This was a dangerous undertaking for a Roman Catholic since the Protestant Reformers were deeply indebted to St. Augustine for their position. Jansen, however, seems to have avoided Calvinism

without going so far in the opposite direction as had some of the Jesuit theologians. The latter Jansen charged with Pelagianism. This made the Jesuits determined to have Jansen's book condemned.

In 1653 the Pope condemned a series of propositions supposedly taken from the *Augustinus*. No one objected to the condemnation of the propositions, but the Jansenists maintained that they were not to be found in the *Augustinus*. The Pope insisted, however, that the propositions were from the book. Neither the Pope nor the Jesuits ever pointed out what passages contained the condemned propositions. The Jansenists replied that this was a question of fact, not of doctrine in Faith or morals, and that therefore the Pope could be mistaken. They refused to accept the Pope's condemnation of Jansenism until he proved by chapter and verse that Jansen held the condemned propositions. But as the Jesuits were their enemies, the Jansenists did not have a chance.

The Jansenists were strong in France and included some of the most brilliant minds and devout souls of the century. Outstanding among them was Mother Angélique Arnauld (1591-1661), Abbess of Port-Royal, the center of Jansenist teaching; Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694), her brother, a Doctor of the Sorbonne; and Blaise Pascal (1623-1662). In 1643 Antoine published *Concerning Frequent Communion*, a plea for a better preparation for receiving Holy Communion including genuine repentance and a determination to reform. The book attracted immediate and enthusiastic approval. It was, however, a slap at the Jesuits, who for political reasons had been making morals very easy for nobles and kings. The Jesuits determined to suppress the book and the Jansenists. With Louis' help they succeeded. Antoine was expelled from the Sorbonne and eventually had to flee into exile. Pascal's *Provincial Letters*, a satirical defense of Antoine, was one of the finest examples of French prose, as his *Pensées* are a great contribution to French thought. But they did not save the Jansenists. The Port-Royal schools were closed and in 1709 the convent was broken up. Thus Louis and the Jesuits stifled a devout, though somewhat rigid, attempt at a spiritual revival.

Another movement in France was a threat to the Papacy. The French Church had always resisted the growing papal tyranny. The Pragmatic Sanction had deprived the Pope of control over France from 1458 to 1516. The French had pushed demands for reform at the Council of Trent. They were withdrawn only because the leading French bishop was disobedient to the king's directions. In 1682 this resistance to the Papacy came to a head in a statement issued by the

clergy at Louis' request. It asserted that the Pope had no authority over the state, that his decrees were subject to review by a General Council, and that local Churches had a right to maintain their own customs and manage their own affairs. The movement known as Gallicanism rested on a sound historical estimate of the Pope's position in the fourth and fifth centuries. Had Louis continued to support the Gallicans, he might have separated the French Church from the Pope. The latter, however, by intrigue and concessions won Louis over and Gallicanism was suppressed in 1693.

Yet it remained a threat and made the Pope eager to appease Louis. Hence the Pope condemned Fénelon in 1699. Francis Fénelon (1651-1715) was tutor to Louis' grandson and Archbishop of Cambrai. He taught that man's response to God should be pure love, a quiet, passive acceptance of the divine will. Madame Guyon, a woman who was thought to be a mystic, became the rage of Paris. She had the support of Madame de Maintenon. Louis, however, distrusted such enthusiasm and had Madame Guyon arrested in 1695. Madame de Maintenon turned against her, but Fénelon, recognizing her teaching to be like his own, sprang to her defense. In so doing he incurred the enmity of Jacques Bossuet (1627-1704), the leading theologian of Louis' Court. Louis exiled Fénelon to his diocese and referred the case to the Pope. Fénelon was not allowed to go to Rome to defend himself. Bossuet used intrigue, bribery and scandalous false accusations against Fénelon. The Pope and his advisers gave every indication that they thought Fénelon's teaching to be sound, but fearing a revival of Gallicanism, they yielded to Louis' desires and in 1699 condemned Fénelon's writings. Fénelon humbly accepted the Pope's verdict and spent the rest of his life devotedly administering his diocese.

This subservience to the French king so completely identified the Roman Church with the monarchy that when the latter fell in the French Revolution a century later, the Church fell with it. The bishops who were not killed had to flee. The leaders of the Revolution were not Protestants. They were agnostics or atheists. They enshrined the goddess of reason at Notre Dame Cathedral. When Napoleon came to power, he made an agreement with the Pope in 1801.¹ When the Church was re-established in France the exiled bishops were not allowed to return to their dioceses. Many of them were Gallicans. The Pope appointed in their stead bishops who were willing to accept the papal claims. This broke the strength of Gallicanism in France.

¹ Napoleon later kept the Pope a prisoner in France, 1812-1814.

2. The Roman Catholic Church

A nineteenth century priest of the Roman Church deserves at least a passing notice. He is St. Jean-Baptiste Marie Vianney, better known as the *Curé d'Ars* (1786-1859). He found his studies for the priesthood very difficult and was able to be ordained only because his bishop overlooked his failures in the necessary examinations. Vianney became the local priest of the obscure village of Ars in France in 1818. Soon his skill in directing souls in the confessional became famous. Pilgrims flocked to him from all France and eventually from the whole world. He was occasionally given miraculous insight into the needs of their souls. Unbelievers who came to scoff were frequently converted by his detection of their insincerity. Vianney practically lived in the confessional, taking his place there immediately after an early Mass. Except for a sermon he delivered each morning and his scanty meals, he stayed in the confessional until late at night. He sought no advancement in the Church, remaining the humble *Curé d'Ars* till his death in 1859.

In 1854 the Pope declared the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary to be a part of the required belief of the Catholic Faith. The doctrine asserts that from the moment of her conception the Virgin Mary was free from the stain of original sin. As the doctrine has been widely misunderstood, it is well to state definitely what it is not. It has nothing to do with the belief that our Lord was born of a virgin. The Virgin Birth of Christ is stated in the Creeds and has always been part of the Faith of the Church. The Immaculate Conception says that the Virgin Mary, because she was to be the Mother of God, was freed from original sin from the very start of her life. In other words, she received the grace of Baptism at the moment she was conceived.¹

The Immaculate Conception may or may not be true. Many Christians down the centuries have thought that it was. But others, including such leading theologians as St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Thomas Aquinas, have rejected the doctrine. The Orthodox Churches do not accept it. Furthermore there is not a single passage in the Bible that even indicates that it is true. Therefore, the doctrine does not fulfil the requirements of a necessary part of the Catholic Faith. It has not been believed at all times, in all places, by all approved

¹ It should perhaps be noted also that the Immaculate Conception does not say that the Virgin Mary was born of a virgin. The Roman Church believes Mary had two parents, Saints Joachim and Anne.

theologians and is not confirmed by the Bible. Nevertheless the Pope on his own authority has declared it a necessary part of the belief of the Roman Church.

The doctrine is supposed to have had divine confirmation by the miracle of Lourdes. A peasant girl, St. Bernadette Soubiroux, claimed that the Virgin Mary appeared to her on eighteen different occasions in 1858. Bernadette said that on one appearance the Virgin had declared, "I am the Immaculate Conception." Bernadette insisted subsequently that she had no idea what the words meant. On another occasion Bernadette was told by the Virgin to drink from a spring at a spot where the ground was completely dry. Bernadette dug a hole and found a slight dampness. A few days later a spring was flowing from that spot. It is believed to have effected many miraculous cures.

The Papal States had prevented the unification of Italy during the period when the other nations of Europe were forming. In the nineteenth century the urge toward unity was too strong to be resisted. Between 1866 and 1870 the Papal States were swept away and Italy became a nation. The Pope's violent condemnation made no difference. When Mussolini came into power the Pope made an agreement with him. The Pope was given the Vatican City, a little piece of Rome around St. Peter's. This is an independent country governed by him.

As the Pope's temporal holdings were swept away, he determined to get his spiritual claims recognized at their height. A council was assembled at the Vatican in 1869. Its chief accomplishment was the declaration of Papal Infallibility in 1870. This doctrine asserts that the Pope, as the mouthpiece of the Church when he speaks officially, cannot make a mistake in defining matters of Faith and morals. It was favored by the Italian, Spanish and Latin-American bishops. Most of the active bishops from the other countries opposed it. They were hopelessly in the minority. When the final vote came up they were faced with a difficult question. They could not conscientiously vote for the doctrine. If they voted against it, it would pass anyway, but there would be a sizable opposition. Conciliar action is supposed to be practically unanimous. The bishops solved their dilemma by going home before the vote was taken. In the end only two bishops dared to vote no, one Italian and the Bishop of Little Rock, Arkansas.¹

¹ At first several bishops in Germany protested the doctrine, but in the end they accepted it. Some theologians did organize an Old Catholic Church in Germany and Switzerland, rejecting Papal Infallibility and making other reforms. They got their episcopate from the Old Catholics in Holland under the Archbishop of Utrecht, who had broken with the Pope over Jansenism in 1703.

The doctrine of Papal Infallibility is carefully worded. It actually says little more than that when the Pope speaks infallibly he speaks infallibly. If it is proven that the Pope was wrong on a point, the Romanists simply reply it was not an official utterance and therefore was not infallible. But the doctrine is the basis on which the whole structure of the papal dominance of the Roman Church rests. Though it may seem to mean little when it is being defended theoretically, in practice it means every Roman Catholic must obey the Pope.

The Roman Church since the Reformation has consistently thrown in its weight with the most conservative and reactionary groups in society. It clung to the monarchies as long as possible. When they fell, it has maintained itself, as it does today in Spain, Portugal and many Latin American countries, by backing dictators. The Pope has, it is true, issued several excellent statements on labor; but in practice these have been politely ignored. As a result, the oppressed classes, even in the Roman Catholic countries, have turned against the Church. When governments based on these classes get into power, they become anti-clerical. Thus the Third Republic, established in France in 1870, turned against the Church, expelling the Religious Orders and curtailing the privileges of the clergy. In Mexico the government threw the Church out altogether. The republican government that drove the monarchy out of Spain was hostile to the Church and succumbed to Communist influence in its later days. Today the Roman Church is embattled with Communism all over the world. The outcome of the conflict will depend on whether the Roman Church will pay serious heed to the Pope's labor pronouncements soon enough to provide the working classes with their rights and a decent standard of living before they grab them for themselves through Communism or some other secular if not anti-Christian organization.

In the mission field the Roman Church is making tremendous strides. It has three advantages. 1) *Organization*. Roman Missions all over the world are handled through the Vatican. Enormous funds are available and can be spent where they will do the most good. 2) *Workers*. The Religious Orders send thousands into the mission field. They need nothing but their living expenses. The continuity of work in a particular place can be maintained through an Order which has reserves to replace those who have to be withdrawn from the field. 3) *Techniques*. The Roman Church has worked out a slow but effective method of instructing and training those who wish to become Christians. This diminishes the number of lapses and in a couple of generations builds up a solid Christian community. In Africa, India

and, before the war, in China, the Roman Church was making converts by the thousands each year.

3. Lutherans and Calvinists

The Reformation sprang from two quite distinct roots. One was the new learning of the Renaissance which produced Humanism. This was an intellectual movement which, on the basis of a scholarly study of the Bible and Christian origins, criticized the Traditions of the Church. The other root was the desire for personal conversion which would result in sincere moral living and the peace and joy that comes from a sense of union with God. Its appeal was more to the emotions than to the intellect.

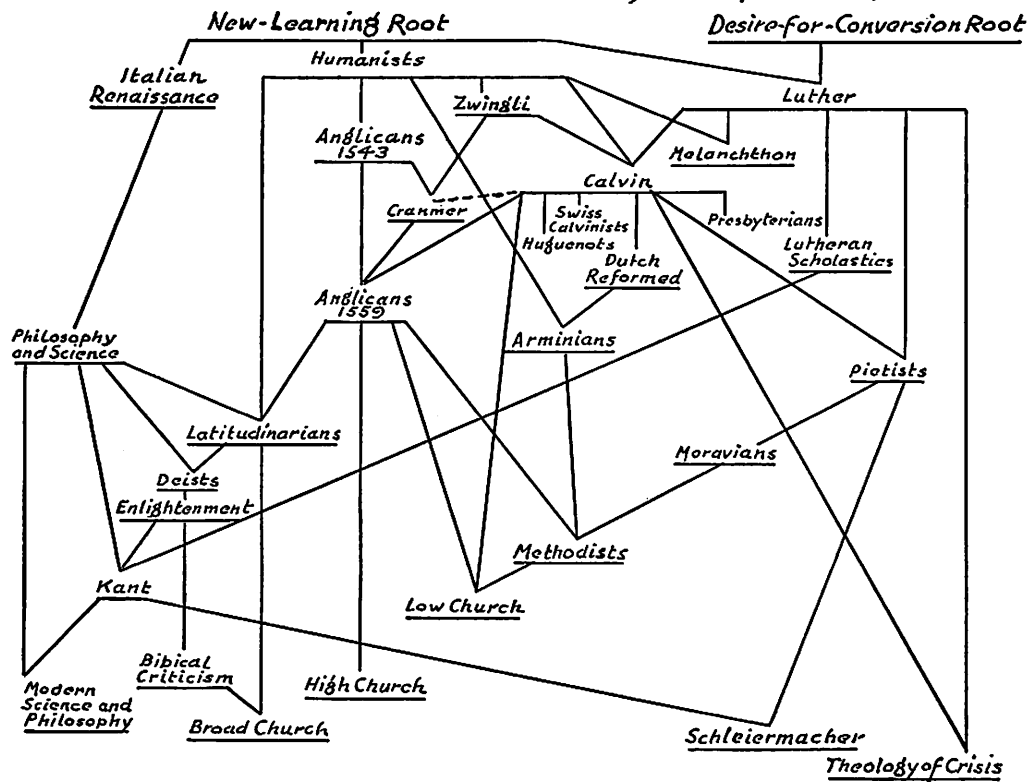
The original reformers sprang from both roots, but one or the other tended to be more important in shaping their final positions. Luther was primarily motivated by his conversion which produced the longed-for sense of peace. His humanist studies merely confirmed and defended the basis of this conversion. Calvin likewise was chiefly moved by his sense of election and his desire to produce in others absolute obedience to God's moral law. His background was more thoroughly humanist than Luther's, but his chief purpose was to make a ruthlessly logical case for election and for submission to the divine will.

On the other hand Zwingli was first and foremost a Humanist. His position was more logical than emotional. So also to a lesser extent was that of Melancthon, Luther's chief disciple. After Luther's death, Melancthon's teaching began to develop along more liberal lines. In opposition to this, other Lutherans emphasized the conservative aspects of Luther's position. A struggle raged between these two schools of thought, which ended in 1580 in the *Formula of Concord* as the basis of Lutheran orthodoxy. This was somewhat more rigidly scholastic and conservative than the *Augsburg Confession*.

Some followers of Melancthon turned to Calvinist theology, though they often combined the *Augsburg Confession* with it. This school took over the theology of Calvin but rejected his puritanical discipline, which sprang from the desire-for-conversion root of the Reformation.

Meanwhile the humanist tendency had produced a division within Calvinism. Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) revolted against Calvin's doctrine of absolute predestination. His theory of predestination rested on God's foreknowledge of the use man would make of the means of grace. Christ died for all men, but only those are saved who freely accept and persevere in the use of grace. This position is very close to the Church's traditional teaching. The strict Calvinists condemned

Chart XI The Roots of the Reformation



and ruled out Arminianism at the Synod of Dort, 1618-1619. The Arminians persisted as a small group in Holland, however, and had great influence in England through the work of John Wesley.¹

The non-religious aspects of the new learning, which we have seen first flourished in Italy, continued to function. The Counter-Reformation suppressed them in Italy. In France, Germany and England, however, they laid the foundation of modern science and philosophy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the work of such men as Descartes (1596-1650), Spinoza (1632-1677), Leibnitz (1646-1716), Locke (1632-1704) and Newton (1642-1727). Many of the disciples of this school were frankly skeptical or anti-christian by the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Others took control of the humanist trend in the Reformation tradition and produced Deism. This based religion squarely on reason and law. Revelation, miracles, and an emotional response to God were rejected. The Deists held that God's existence could be proved by logical argument. He was portrayed, however, as a cold intellectual abstraction rather than a personal loving Father. He had a right to dignified worship of a rational but not emotional type and the universally accepted moral law was to be obeyed. Men must repent of wrong-doing in the sense of trying to do better and there will be rewards and punishment after death. Since revelation was considered superstition, Christianity tended to be treated as but one of many religions, all of which were supposed to reflect the fundamental natural religion which the Deists held. Deism flourished mainly in England. It did produce in Germany, however, the movement known as the Enlightenment, which in turn gave birth to Biblical Criticism.

The Enlightenment was able to take root in Germany because Lutheran orthodoxy had been undermined by Pietism. Lutheran orthodoxy was a reaction against the humanist side of the Reformation. But by the middle of the seventeenth century it was barrenly theological and gave little encouragement to personal devotion. That aspect of the desire-for-conversion root of the Reformation was developed by Philipp Spener (1635-1705), a Lutheran pastor. He started a devout group in his Frankfort parish in 1670 which gathered for Bible reading, prayer and discussion. Similar groups sprang up elsewhere. They took the position that intellectual speculation and theological controversy were unprofitable. Their emphasis was on personal devotion and a sincere effort to live the moral life, stimulated

¹ See pp. 296-298.

by an intimate knowledge of Holy Scripture. Their indifference to theology undermined the old Lutheran orthodoxy and provided no new intellectual basis for faith. Religion became simply a matter of personal piety. Zinzendorf (1700-1760), who revived the Moravians, was a disciple of this school. Through the Moravians it passed to John Wesley.

The philosophy of the German thinker, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), gave the death-blow to Deism by apparently refuting the rational arguments for the existence of God. Reason, according to Kant, cannot prove God exists. But Kant recognized that man is an essentially moral being. To be moral demands a moral universe, behind which there must be a moral God. This shift of the basis of religion to morality was followed up by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who defended Christianity not because it is true but because it best enables its followers to get in touch with God, the moral basis of the universe. God is thought of as existing and operating through the universe. Jesus is the supreme instance of God manifesting himself in human life. We are to concentrate our attention on him and imitate him.

The descendants of the Enlightenment produced modern Biblical Criticism in the nineteenth century. This is of two kinds. First, there is textual criticism, which tries to establish accurately the original text of the Bible. Second, there is higher criticism, which seeks to determine the relative value of each passage of the Bible. In so far as this evaluation is based on consideration of style, vocabulary, etc., it is true scholarship and helps to indicate the date and authorship of the various books of the Bible. It has had its more dangerous side, however. Passages have been declared to be of little or no value because they teach the opposite of what the critic himself holds to be true Christianity. As the first critics were disciples of the rationalists, who held that anything supernatural is unchristian, they eliminated or explained away all passages that contain a miraculous element. For them and their modern followers, the extreme Liberals, Christianity has become a rational philosophy and code of ethics of which Jesus, the best of good men, was only a teacher. His contemporaries misunderstood him and put him to death. But in our more enlightened age we recognize the value of his teaching and may hope gradually to put it into effect.

The Danish theologian Kierkegaard (1813-1855), and his modern disciples Barth and Brunner, reacted against both the concept of God working through the universe and the hope of moral progress. They

developed the theology of crisis. God stands above and apart from the universe, issuing commands to which man must humbly submit. Moral progress working gradually from within is denied. God strikes from above to destroy society when it strays too far from the divine will and to rebuild it again through the faithful remnant who accept and carry out the divine commands.

A more violent reaction against Biblical Criticism is Fundamentalism. The Bible is the basis of Protestant authority. An attack on the Bible, such as the critics were making, seemed to many conservative Protestants an attack on religion itself. They therefore rejected Biblical Criticism entirely and with it many of the discoveries of modern science. To the Fundamentalist every word of the Bible is literally true, dictated by the Holy Ghost, written down by the man whose name is attached to the book. It is the final authority in science and history as well as in religion. Thus the theory of evolution, the historical discoveries of archeology and so forth are rejected because they are contradicted by a literal interpretation of Bible passages.

Biblical Criticism need not result in either Liberalism or Fundamentalism; nor is it necessary to take refuge in the theology of crisis. A modern English school of critics, with its followers in America, has found Biblical Criticism an aid in establishing and understanding the traditional Catholic Faith.¹

4. Protestantism

As Protestant authority rests on the Bible as interpreted by the individual's conscience and as there have been many different individual interpretations, there are a vast number of Protestant sects. The Lutherans and Calvinists themselves are subdivided, so that today in America, for instance, there are several independent Lutheran and Presbyterian Churches. And the radical sects have multiplied as the centuries have passed. We have time to note briefly only a few of the more important groups.

Congregationalism sprang up in England during the reign of Elizabeth. Many of the Anglican reformers had fled to Geneva when Mary re-established the Roman Church in England. Some of them became convinced Calvinists and, on their return to England after Elizabeth had succeeded to the throne, sought to purify the Church of England of excessive ceremonial. They were therefore called Puritans. At first they advocated a presbyteral type of Church government. But in 1582

¹ See pp. 317-318.

Robert Browne (1550?-1633), the Father of Congregationalism, published his first tracts and by 1592 a group had been formed that elected its ministers by the congregation. This is the essence of Congregationalism. Each congregation determines for itself its own policy and chooses its own ministers. The Congregationalists were persecuted in England, fled to Holland and finally were allowed to settle in New England, where Calvinist discipline was enforced by the state. The Congregationalists also continued in England and became dominant during the Commonwealth and Protectorate.

The Baptists began to appear in England in the sixteenth century. They adopted many of their ideas from the Anabaptists. They reject infant Baptism and baptize only by immersion. Their Church government is congregational. In America they found their first home in Rhode Island, whence they have spread throughout the country, being especially strong in the South and West.

The Quakers were a seventeenth century English group. They were founded by George Fox (1624-1691). Christianity for them is entirely an inner relationship with Christ. All outward ceremony is unnecessary and misleading. The ordained ministry and all Sacraments were dropped. Their services consist of silence broken only as the Spirit moves one or another man or woman to speak. The Quakers refused to take oaths and abandoned the courtesies and ceremonies of society. They outlawed both slavery and war. After much persecution in England and in New England, they were allowed to settle in Pennsylvania under William Penn (1644-1718).

Unitarianism, which denies the doctrine of the Trinity and therefore that Christ is God in any unique sense, appeared early among the Anabaptists. In the seventeenth century a Unitarian group known as the Socinians was active in Poland. There were isolated Unitarians in England from the sixteenth century on, but it was in the eighteenth century, under the influence of Deism, that they began to build up a following. Their recruits came from the Presbyterians and Baptists. The Unitarian Church was organized in London in 1773. In New England the Unitarian Church was formed out of Congregationalists.

The chief eighteenth century group was the Methodists. Since they started as a movement within the Church of England and remained so as long as their founder lived, we shall consider them later.¹

Thomas Campbell (1763-1854) and his son Alexander (1786-1866), Presbyterian ministers, decided to end the division of Christianity by

¹ See pp. 296-299.

a rigid adherence to the Bible. "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; and where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." They proceeded to set up another Christian group, the Disciples of Christ, which has since split up into others. One interesting feature of the Campbells' teaching is that they realized that the Eucharist is the only service which has New Testament authority and therefore it is their regular service every Sunday.

America produced even more radical groups in the nineteenth century. The Mormons were founded by Joseph Smith (1805-1844), who claimed to have discovered a book of gold plates which supplemented the Bible and declared him a prophet. In 1843 a special revelation told him polygamy was permissible. After Smith was murdered by a mob in 1844, the Mormons under Brigham Young (1801-1877) settled in Utah. The government forced them to abandon polygamy in 1890.

Christian Science was founded by Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910). She made her own interpretation of the Bible, published under the title *Science and Health*. Her position is similar to the Manichaeism. Matter is the source of evil and can be overcome by the divine Mind. Disease can therefore be cured by thinking in harmony with it.

Finally there are the many Pentecostal sects. These are distinguished from each other by a variety of ideas and practices. But they all have one thing in common. In their prayer meetings they work themselves into an emotional frenzy. They shout and scream, roll and jump around, speak in unknown tongues and so forth. They believe themselves to be filled with the Holy Ghost, who reproduces in them the signs of his first coming on Pentecost.

Most American Protestantism has concentrated more and more on conversion and morality. The latter has taken the form of a campaign against drinking, smoking, dancing and the like. For the purpose of outlawing the sale of alcoholic beverages the Temperance Societies were formed early in the nineteenth century. They finally succeeded in imposing Prohibition on the United States by a constitutional amendment in 1919. Although the amendment was repealed as an abject failure, the Temperance Societies are still hard at work, and popular Protestantism seems to be engaged more in an attack on a few vices and some innocent pleasures than it is in preaching the Gospel.

Protestantism at its best has always fostered education in the United States. Many of the older universities, such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, were Protestant foundations. It has consistently backed universal state education and is largely responsible for its establishment.

Protestantism has been active in foreign missions since the eighteenth century. It lacks the organizational ability of the Roman Church, both because the divisions of Protestantism produce competition and duplication in the mission field and because it depends largely on the individual initiative of its missionaries. It has, however, been most generous in its financial support of missions. It has sent forth a vast army of heroic missionaries who have plunged fearlessly into the unknown, trusting in God to see them through. Protestantism has been slow in developing mission techniques that will assure permanent results. Its first missionaries were chiefly concerned with making conversions of an emotional nature which were followed at once by Baptism. Most of the converts speedily relapsed to their pagan ways. In reaction to this, a school of missionary work developed which concentrated more on relieving physical suffering than it did on conversion. A well-balanced and better organized technique, however, has been developed by some Protestant groups and they are building up solid Christian communities in the mission field.

C. THE ORTHODOX CHURCHES

When in 1453 the Turks, who by then were rulers of the Mohammedan world, captured Constantinople and overran the Balkans, the Patriarch of Constantinople could not fully supervise the Eastern Orthodox Churches. He remained their titular head, but the Churches, already organized along national lines, became autonomous. Those in the Balkans were under Mohammedan rule. The Church became the center and preserver of national life. When Greece in the nineteenth century and the other Balkan countries in the twentieth century threw off the Turkish yoke, the Orthodox Churches in those countries became the national state religion.

Leadership among the Orthodox Churches passed, soon after the fall of Constantinople, to the Russian Church. Not only was it the largest Church, spreading from Russia in Europe out to the end of Siberia, but it was also free from the dominance by the Mohammedans. True to the Orthodox tradition of Caesaro-Papalism, the Tsar was the head of the Russian Church and the Church was controlled by the state. From the eighteenth century on, this control was exercised by the synod, the chairman of which was a layman appointed by the Tsar. The Church became simply a department of the state.

The Orthodox Churches are very conservative. The Eucharist is still celebrated only in a lengthy and elaborate form. The Low Mass, which became the norm for daily and early celebrations in the West,

has never developed in the East. The Orthodox service is in an antique form of the native tongue. Theological changes and developments since the fall of Constantinople have been few, but, in making them, all the Orthodox Churches have kept in line with each other in spite of the independence of each Church. It is an amazing example of unenforced co-ordination.

In addition to the Patriarch of Constantinople, the ancient Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem have survived, but in a weakened state. The Russian, Roumanian and Serbian Churches have been made Patriarchates. Besides these seven, there are eight other autonomous Orthodox Churches. Five of the Nestorian or Monophysite schismatic Churches that were formed in the fifth century still exist. Nine Orthodox and two schismatic Churches are organized in America to care for their members who have migrated here.

When the Communists seized Russia in 1917 the Church fell. Many clergy were put to death or exiled to Siberia. Churches were confiscated. Christians either were not allowed to hold services or were permitted to function only as a club under constant supervision and subject to repeated impositions of fines. Children were educated in state schools where atheism was taught. Nevertheless, the hold of Christianity on the people of Russia is so strong that the Church survived the period of persecution. As always, it was purified by suffering. When Stalin wanted to unite Russia in its resistance to the Germans in World War II, he found it wise to grant toleration to the Russian Church.

By that time the clergy of the Russian Church had learned to get along with the Communists. After the War the Church was allowed to reorganize under a Patriarch of Moscow who is politically sympathetic to Communism. To the Western mind this is a fantastic situation—a Christian Church functioning under the control of an atheist state. The Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia, which has been ministering to the Russian refugees who escaped at the time of the revolution, has refused to recognize the Soviet Orthodox Church. Whether the latter will succeed in remaining Christian under Communist domination remains to be seen. It must be remembered that the Eastern Church is accustomed to function under the state, usually a tyrannical state even when it was Christian. In the Balkans it survived four centuries of Mohammedan rule. In view of its long experience of carrying on under what to us would seem to be impossible circumstances, it is at least conceivable it will survive Communism and may even influence the latter for the good.

Since the Eastern Church rejected the union with the West that was worked out at the Council of Florence, 1439, the Roman Church has been hard at work on the various Orthodox Churches, trying to get them to accept the Pope. The negotiations have never met with success. One device for recovering the Orthodox which the Roman Church has used is the establishment of Uniat Churches in those countries. A Uniat Church is permitted to retain its national customs. Its services are in the native tongue, married men can be ordained priests, and so forth. Its only difference from the corresponding Orthodox Church is that it accepts the Pope. The Uniat Churches, however, have made little headway. This underlines the truth that the papal pretensions are the real hindrance to union between East and West.

As the Anglican Communion is also a Catholic group which rejects the Pope, it feels kinship with the Orthodox. There have been efforts made during the last century to achieve intercommunion with them. So far they have been unsuccessful. It is not that the Orthodox question the validity of our Orders. Five of the fifteen autonomous Orthodox Churches have recognized our Orders as valid. Nor do they question our Sacraments. Their lay people are usually instructed to receive their Sacraments in an Episcopal Church if no Orthodox Church is available. The hindrances to intercommunion have been twofold. First, it has been impossible to arrange for all the Orthodox Churches to act on this matter at the same time and they refuse to act independently. Second, they question our orthodoxy. The Prayer Book and Thirty-nine Articles, as we shall see, express the Catholic Faith in Protestant language. Groups within the Anglican Communion have interpreted them in a most Protestant sense. Since the Orthodox do not understand the history of our formularies or our long-suffering patience with heretics, they question whether we hold the Catholic Faith.

As the Pope is the hindrance to union between the Roman and Orthodox Churches, the question inevitably arises, will the Pope have to be eliminated before Christian reunion takes place? Is there room for the Pope in the united Church? It would seem that there will have to be. The Papacy is not a modern invention. Its roots go back at least to the fifth century. There is real practical value in having a symbol and center of unity such as he provides.

The real difficulty is not the Pope as such, but the increase of his claims throughout the Middle Ages and even more since the Reformation. He has taken into his own hands the functions of bishops. The bishops of the Roman Church are papal appointees and operate as

puppets with the Pope pulling the strings. The Pope for centuries has gone beyond his early position of a court of final appeal and intervened in disputes before he was asked. In 1854 he decreed the Immaculate Conception to be a necessary article of Faith. By this he became a source, not an interpreter, of doctrine. In 1870 he had himself declared infallible.¹ These are pretensions that the Churches separate from Rome cannot accept unless they, like the Roman Church, are willing to surrender the rights of local Churches into his hands.

But it is entirely possible that, if the Pope were to return to the position he occupied in the fifth century, reunion with him might be effected. He would have to restore to bishops the authority usurped from them. He would have to allow national Churches to manage their own affairs. He would have to give the national Churches real representation in the consultative body whose advice he would take in deciding matters referred to him. Were this done, his judgments would reflect the Mind of the whole Church. He might even be acceptable as a court of final appeal. As things are now, with the Pope an autocratic ruler over but a part of Christendom, he certainly is not.

- See Review Outline X. Divisions of the Church.
- XI. Events of the Reformation (16th Century).
 - XII. Events of the Reformation (17th Century).
 - XIII. Leaders of the Modern Church.

¹In 1950 the Pope also declared that the doctrine of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary must be believed as a part of the Faith. This asserts that her body as well as her soul has already been taken up into heaven. There is no clear biblical basis for the doctrine and it cannot claim universal consent of the Church.

CHAPTER X

The Church of England

A. THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

I. Henry VIII's Quarrel with the Pope

HENRY VII, who came to the throne at the end of the Wars of the Roses in 1485, was one of the lesser nobility. He looked to the Middle Class for his support. He was a thrifty king who did all he could to build up the nation's resources. As Spain sought an alliance with England, Ferdinand and Isabella arranged for the marriage of their daughter, Catherine of Aragon to Henry VII's eldest son, Arthur, in 1501. Arthur died three months later. It was then proposed that Catherine marry Henry VII's second son, Henry (1491-1547), who was now heir to the throne and was to become King Henry VIII.

Before this marriage could take place a papal dispensation had to be obtained. Marriage with a deceased brother's wife was within the forbidden degrees of relationship, according to the law of the Church. The matter was referred to Pope Julius II. On being given an assurance that Arthur and Catherine had never actually lived together as man and wife, the Pope in 1504 gave the dispensation for Henry to marry her. Since the succession to the English throne depended on the validity of the marriage, the dispensation was made as iron-clad as possible. Henry VII was not eager to have his son marry Catherine, yet he did not want to break with Spain. For the remainder of Henry VII's reign, Henry VIII was engaged to Catherine but did not marry her. When Henry VIII came to the throne in 1509, his marriage with Catherine took place. In 1516 they had a daughter, Mary. All their

other children died in infancy and by 1527 it was apparent that Catherine was not going to give Henry a male heir.

Henry VIII was a Catholic. He was patron of the Humanists and a friend of Colet, Erasmus and More. In the early years of his reign he was diligent in carrying out the Pope's policies. When Luther published his attack on the Sacraments in the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Henry answered with a treatise, *Assertion of the Seven Sacraments*. For this he received from the Pope the title Defender of the Faith. Henry remained a Catholic until his death. He was a ruthless tyrant both in his official and his private life. But he never abandoned the Catholic Faith and practice.

By 1524 Henry was tired of Catherine. He was also concerned over having no male heir. He began to wonder whether this might not be a divine judgment showing that his marriage with Catherine was not valid. There were good grounds for doubting its validity. Did the Pope have the power to dispense the forbidden degrees of relationship and permit a marriage within them? If they were merely a regulation of the Church, as head of the Church he did. If they were part of the moral law of God, the Pope did not. Henry became convinced of the latter position and decided to have his marriage annulled.

Henry's chief adviser was Thomas Wolsey (c.1475-1530). Wolsey, the son of a merchant, had gone to Oxford. By 1515 he had become Archbishop of York and had been made a Cardinal. The year following he became Lord Chancellor of England. Henry had Wolsey obtain a pall from the Pope. This made him a papal legate. This was a violation of the Statute of Praemunire, but that law had been a dead letter for years and the king ordered him to disobey it. Wolsey lived in great luxury. He also was a patron of learning, founding Christ Church at Oxford. To obtain money for these purposes he appointed himself to many Church offices and used their incomes. He also closed small and worthless Church foundations and gave their endowments to his college.

Wolsey was an ambitious man. It has been suggested that he aspired to the Papacy. He also wanted Henry VIII free to make another diplomatic marriage when his marriage with Catherine was annulled. Therefore he advised Henry not to have the marriage annulled quietly by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but to seek an annulment from the Pope. Wolsey assured Henry that the Pope would grant it.

Wolsey had overlooked one factor. Catherine was the aunt of Emperor Charles V. The latter forbade the Pope to annul the marriage. Pope Clement VII had already seen Rome sacked by Charles in 1527

because the Pope defied him. Clement knew that if he disobeyed Charles he would lose the Papal States. Clement was first of all an Italian prince. He refused Henry's request.

Henry was furious. It seemed intolerable that England should be deprived of a male heir to the throne because of the Pope's political difficulties. Wolsey fell from favor in 1529. He was accused of breaking the Statute of Praemunire and deprived of all offices except his Archbishopric of York, to which he retired. The next year Henry decided Wolsey was too dangerous to have around. Wolsey was arrested for treason. On the way to the Tower Wolsey was taken ill and died.

Thomas More was appointed Lord Chancellor. He refused to have anything to do with the king's annulment. But meanwhile Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), a Cambridge scholar, had made a suggestion. This was that Henry obtain the opinions of the universities of Europe as to whether the Pope had the authority to grant the dispensation which had permitted Henry to marry Catherine. Henry approved the suggestion and sent Cranmer with plenty of money to collect the opinions. In countries not under the direct control of Charles V, the opinions were favorable to Henry. In 1532 Cranmer was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury and the following spring declared Henry's marriage with Catherine null and void. Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, which had already taken place, was declared valid.

It should be noted that Henry did not divorce Catherine. Divorce presupposes a marriage to have been valid and dissolves it. Henry's marriage was annulled. That means that, because Henry had no right to marry his deceased brother's wife, it was declared that Henry never had been really married to Catherine.

In order to prepare for the break with the Pope which Henry knew his annulment would cause, Henry had already taken control of the English Church. He forced the Convocations of Canterbury and York in 1531 to recognize him as the Supreme Head of the English Church "so far as the law of Christ will allow." The next year the clergy agreed they would pass no Church laws without the king's consent. The same year, 1532, saw the beginning of legislation in Parliament that cut off the Pope's revenues from England, forbade appeals to him and rejected his authority over the English Church. The process was completed in 1534, when Parliament declared Henry to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, without the safeguarding clause "so far as the law of Christ will allow." The break with the Pope was complete. Yet in all this Henry had not gone much further

than the Pragmatic Sanction in France in 1438. The Pope drew up a bull of excommunication against Henry in 1535 but apparently it was never issued.

Catherine died in 1536. Anne Boleyn, after giving birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, was charged with unfaithfulness to Henry. The charge was probably false, but she was beheaded in 1536. This removed the original grounds for Henry's quarrel with the Pope, but things had gone too far to be patched up. Henry remained in control of the Church till his death in 1547. When Anne Boleyn was beheaded Henry married Jane Seymour. She died in 1537 after giving birth to a son who was to be Edward VI. As Henry had no children by his other wives they need not concern us.¹

With few exceptions, Henry carried the whole Church of England with him when he broke with the Pope. The most famous exceptions were St. Thomas More and St. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who were executed for treason in 1535. Some abbots, priests and monks, notably the Carthusians of London, were put to death that year or later. The rest of the bishops and clergy acquiesced in Henry's breach with the Pope.

2. Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556)

Thomas Cranmer wanted to reform the Church of England. Some of the reforms he advocated were merely the removal of abuses; others, particularly those which affected the ministry and the Eucharist, were based on Protestant theology. Cranmer seems to have held a doctrine of the Eucharist close to Receptionism, which, it will be remembered, is that Christ is present in the Eucharist only to those who receive in faith.

Henry also wanted to reform the Church. But Henry was a Catholic. He would not abandon the Faith of the universal Church. He would check abuses, but he would not eliminate observances and practices that had a sound theological basis. He believed unshakably in Transubstantiation. Henry kept control of the reformation of the Church in his own hands. Cranmer could not achieve the kind of reform he wanted while Henry lived.

One ancient Catholic institution Henry did destroy. This was the Religious Orders. Henry was always in need of money. In 1535 he

¹ Henry's fourth wife was Anne of Cleves. Although he married her publicly, he had the marriage annulled six months later on the grounds that he had never given inward consent. He then married Catherine Howard whom he beheaded for unfaithfulness. Finally he married Catherine Parr who survived him.

decided that the wealthy monasteries could provide him with it. He sent out a commission to visit and report on them. The report, submitted to Parliament in 1536, said the large houses were in fine condition but the small houses were corrupt. The way the visitation was conducted shows there was no real basis for the latter charge. Parliament, however, gave the king permission to close the small houses and take their incomes. This Henry did. There was a rebellion in the north, called the Pilgrimage of Grace. Henry outwitted and repressed it. In 1537-1538 Henry proceeded, without authority from Parliament and without any further investigation, to close the large monasteries, which had expressly been declared to be healthy in 1536. After they were closed, Parliament approved in 1539. There was no justification for these acts of outright seizure. It must be admitted, however, that the devotion of the monks must have been at a low ebb. Except for a few abbots who resisted and were executed, the monks quietly accepted the closing of the monasteries and returned to the world.

Henry favored translating the Bible and services into English. In 1534 he promised to have an authorized translation of the Bible made. He never kept that promise but he did permit Coverdale's translation to be circulated in England in 1536, and two years later personally authorized a revision of it known as the Great Bible. He ordered the reading of the lessons in English on Sundays and holy days. He had the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments taught in English. In 1544 the Litany was published in English. Had Henry lived longer the first English Prayer Book might have been issued by him. As it was, however, with the above exceptions, the services were still in Latin when he died.

In 1536 Henry permitted those who were urging reform to have Convocation draw up the Ten Articles and he issued them in his own name. They were sound in doctrine and took the Creeds and decisions of the first four General Councils as the basis of Faith. The necessity of Baptism and Penance, and the Real Presence were affirmed. The traditional ceremonies and practices were retained, but the abuses of them, such as worship instead of veneration of the saints, the belief that the mere performance of ceremonies aided salvation and the use of pardons and indulgences, were condemned. The next year a longer explanation, insisting on seven Sacraments, was published. It is known as the *Bishops' Book*. This is as far as Henry would go in reforming the Church. It was a sound Catholic position of the humanist type.

Six Articles were issued in 1539. These affirmed Transubstantiation,

Communion in one kind, celibacy of the clergy, private Masses and private Confession. They were a direct refusal to make the reforms Cranmer wanted and were passed over his opposition. They were followed in 1543 by a revision of the *Bishops' Book* endorsed by Henry and known as the *King's Book*. This was a careful and thoroughly Catholic statement of the Faith and had the approval of Convocation. A devotional manual for laymen called the *Primer* was issued in 1545. These documents represented the mind of the English Church and were the basis of a truly Catholic Reformation. This is how Henry left the Church at his death in 1547.

Henry was succeeded by his son, Edward VI (1537-1553). As he was a child of nine, England was ruled by a regency dominated first by the Duke of Somerset and later by the Duke of Northumberland. They were both unscrupulous men who were interested primarily in increasing their wealth and power. They embraced Protestantism because they saw in it a chance to plunder the Church and keep it under their control. Their rule gave Cranmer the chance to effect the changes in the Church he had long desired. He gave the dukes a free hand in despoiling the Church; they gave him a free hand in reforming it.

The systematic destruction of images and Church ornaments now began. It was ordered that Communion be administered in both kinds. The clergy were permitted to marry. Cranmer, who had secretly been married for some time, brought his wife over from Holland. Stephen Gardiner (?-1555), Bishop of Winchester, and Edmund Bonner (c.1500-1559), Bishop of London, leaders of the Catholic party, were arrested and put in prison for the rest of Edward's reign.

The most important event was the issuance in 1549 of the First Prayer Book, which the Church was required to use. It was the work of Cranmer. As a service book it was a magnificent achievement. Cranmer had a deep knowledge of the principles of worship and an excellent prose style. Although the book was somewhat oversimplified, it was structurally sound. It condensed the old seven Day Offices and long Night Office into Morning and Evening Prayer. The Communion Service was translated from the Latin Mass with some improvements in the continuity of its thought. Proper Collects, Epistles and Gospels were provided for Sundays and the major Feasts. The book included the Litany, services for Baptism, Confirmation, and so forth.

The book was issued by the authority of the regents. It was not debated in Convocation and its members probably never saw the

book in its final form. Yet Cranmer did not have an entirely free hand. His doctrine of the Eucharist was a Calvinist Receptionism. But he wanted to get the book used, and the Church in England would not accept that position. He therefore phrased things carefully so that the book could be interpreted in either a Catholic or Receptionist sense, intending later to force the acceptance of the latter. The Church, however, accepted the book because of its possible Catholic interpretation. When Gardiner was shown it in prison, he pronounced it satisfactory and pointed to passages implying Catholic doctrine.

The First Prayer Book had no Ordinal—services for the consecration of bishops and ordination of priests and deacons. These were added in 1550.

By 1552 most of the Catholic-minded bishops had been removed from their dioceses and Cranmer felt strong enough to go further. Parliament authorized slight changes in the 1549 Prayer Book. It never saw the final form of the Second Prayer Book of 1552. The Church never approved it at all. Cranmer mixed up the order of the service of Holy Communion and changed all the passages of which Gardiner had approved. It contained a rubric of ambiguous language which seems to deny the Presence of Christ in the consecrated elements themselves. This was followed in 1553 by the Forty-two Articles, a statement of doctrine. On the whole they expressed the Catholic Faith in the most Protestant language possible, but again the Real Presence was left doubtful. Although they claimed to have been approved by Convocation, the Forty-two Articles had never been submitted to that body in any form. The Church therefore never officially approved either the Prayer Book of 1552 or the Forty-two Articles. The Church did not even accept them by use, for Edward died before they were widely circulated. Thus they cannot be taken as expressing the mind of the Church of England.

When Mary succeeded Edward in 1553 and returned to the Roman Church, Cranmer was arrested. Cranmer was in a difficult situation. He had always maintained that the ruler should determine the religion of his subjects. Now Cranmer's ruler was a Roman Catholic and he felt he could not conscientiously accept that position. During the course of his trial, in a moment of weakness he signed a paper retracting his teaching. But he later repudiated it and was condemned. He was burned at the stake at Oxford in 1556. As the flames arose around him, he thrust his right hand into them in order that the part of his body that had signed his retraction might be the first to be destroyed.

3. Mary Tudor (1516-1558)

Mary Tudor¹ was the daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. She inherited from her mother the loyalty to the Roman Church and to the Pope which was bound up with Spanish nationalism. She was not inclined to favor the independent Church of England, which had treated her mother so badly and had denied her legitimacy. It was clear from the start that she would bring the English Church back under the Pope.

The people of England were ready for the change. They were offended by the tyranny of the Duke of Northumberland and the efforts of Cranmer to force Protestantism upon them. They rallied to Mary at once and she had no difficulty in overthrowing Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey, whom he tried to place on the throne. But unfortunately Mary was more Spanish than English. She was a Roman Catholic of the Counter-Reformation. Nothing less than absolute submission to the Pope would satisfy her.

Her first advisers were Gardiner, Bonner and the other bishops who had been imprisoned by Edward. They had accepted Henry's reformation and would have liked to go back to the position of the *King's Book* of 1543. If Mary insisted on accepting the jurisdiction of the Pope, they urged her to demand of him terms that would safeguard the rightful independence of the English Church.

Mary, however, preferred the advice of her cousin, Charles V of Germany. He urged her to make a complete submission to the Pope and he arranged for her to marry his son, Philip II, King of Spain. The English Catholics were faced with a difficult alternative. Either they had to accept Mary's Roman Catholicism or permit her to be dethroned. The only group who would engineer the latter, however, were those who wanted a return not to the position of Henry VIII, but to the Forty-two Articles and the Second Prayer Book. Of the alternatives the English Catholics felt that the Pope was the lesser of two evils. They therefore stood by Mary.

The anti-papal legislation of Henry VIII was repealed. Mary's marriage with Philip II took place. The Pope sent Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-1558) to England as papal legate. We have already met Pole as a member of the Oratory of the Divine Love in Venice and as papal legate to the first assembly of the Council of Trent, 1545-1547. In 1554 he solemnly absolved England from the sin of heresy and restored it

¹ Great care must be taken to distinguish between Mary Tudor, Queen of England, and Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.

to communion with the Roman Church. In 1556, after Cranmer's death, Pole was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

The bishops and clergy of the Church of England who would not accept the Pope and who escaped arrest fled to the Continent. They took refuge in Holland and Geneva, where they came into closer contact with Calvinism.

The clergy who remained in England were a mixed group. Some had been ordained by the Latin service before 1550. Some had been ordained by the English Ordinal after that date. Others had received only Protestant ordination and some had never been ordained at all. During the reign of Edward VI patrons who had in their hands the appointment of the parish clergy would often appoint anyone who would agree to give the patron a large share of the income of the parish whether the candidate was a priest or not. Those who wanted to keep their parishes after England had become Roman Catholic knew they would have to have their orders regularized. Those who were married did not have a chance, of course. But the unmarried ones, if they were not priests, scurried about seeking a bishop to ordain them. Some of those ordained by the English Ordinal, fearing that it might not be considered valid, were reordained by the Latin service. However, it seems that the last class of reordinations ceased when Cardinal Pole arrived and that he accepted as valid priests those ordained by the English Ordinal. This is an important point. In recent times the Pope has declared the English Ordinal invalid. He tries to maintain that it was so considered during the reign of Mary. It is difficult to disprove this absolutely, especially as the records of the reign are not well preserved. But there are instances where the overwhelming balance of probability is that priests ordained by the English Ordinal were accepted by Cardinal Pole without further ordination.

If Mary had been content with the restoration of the Roman Church and had concentrated on giving her people a wise and moderate government such as Gardiner and Bonner advised, all would have been well. Unfortunately that is just what she did not do. She filled her Court with Spaniards and listened to them rather than to her English bishops. This aroused the bitter resentment of English patriotism. When Gardiner died in 1555 the last restraining influence was removed. Mary began the ruthless repression of all forms of Protestantism that earned her the title Bloody Mary.

Mary was an unhappy woman. Philip II, whom she deeply loved, was too busy with his own affairs even to visit England. No heir to the

throne was born. Mary contracted a disease which the medicine of those days could not cure. The nation suffered a series of disasters. Storms wrecked the shipping along the coast; blight destroyed the crops; Calais, the last English holding on the Continent, was lost. Mary took all this out on the Protestants.

The latter were not politically dangerous; they were not even religious leaders. They were ignorant fanatics. One after another they went to the stake. Probably there were not more than 300 all told. But the persecution convinced the English people that the Roman Church was as bad as the Protestant government of Edward's reign. Mary's early popularity turned into a bitter hatred of Spain and of the Roman Church with which she identified herself. Just before her death, Mary fell out with Pope Paul IV because Pole had arranged that the Church property confiscated during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI did not have to be returned. The Pope demanded its restitution, deprived Pole of his position of papal legate and summoned him to Rome to face the Inquisition. When Mary died in 1558 she knew that everything she had tried to do had failed. Cardinal Pole died a few hours later.

4. Elizabeth I (1533-1603)

Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. On Mary's death she was Henry's only surviving child and she became queen. Unlike her half-brother and half-sister she had her father's character and ability. She was ruthlessly selfish, but as she had had to adjust herself to the reigns of Edward and Mary, she had her passions better under control. She was a master diplomat and a wise ruler. Like her father she sensed what her people wanted and gave it to them. No one expected her to remain on the throne more than a few months. She had no strong party supporting her at home and she could not count on foreign aid. Yet she so cleverly played her foreign enemies off against each other, she so successfully appealed to English patriotism, she so thriftily laid the foundations of a new prosperity that she remained on the throne for forty-five years. Her reign ended in a blaze of glory, the English Renaissance, the age of Spenser, Shakespeare and Francis Bacon. In spite of her faults, which were many, she is one of England's most popular rulers.

Elizabeth was convinced that the English people wanted neither the extreme Protestantism of the reign of Edward VI nor the Roman Catholicism of Mary. Elizabeth favored a central position which she hoped in time would be acceptable to both the Calvinists and the

Romanists. Her problem was to find Church leaders who agreed with her. The Roman Catholic bishops who had served under Mary would not, with one exception, accept Elizabeth unless she accepted the Pope. Most of the Edwardian clergy who returned from exile had become convinced Calvinists while they were on the Continent. Those who accepted Elizabeth's position did so only because they hoped gradually to supplant it with Calvinism.

When Parliament met in 1559, its first action was to pass an Act of Supremacy. This revived the legislation of Henry's reign that rejected the Pope's control over the English Church. Elizabeth was not, however, declared to be the Supreme Head of the Church. At her coronation she had been undecided as to what she would do about that title. Therefore she omitted it from the list of titles but substituted an "et cetera" for it, so that she could claim it later if she desired. She finally decided not to take it. Nevertheless, the Supremacy Act placed the administrative supervision of the Church in her hands.

Elizabeth then went ahead with her religious policy as far as she dared. She rightly sensed that she had the people of England with her. Since she could not go back to the Prayer Book of 1549, she took the 1552 Prayer Book as the basis of the one she issued in 1559. Very few changes were made, but they were vitally significant. They ruled out the Protestant interpretation Cranmer had intended. The rubric denying the Real Presence was dropped. An example of the skill with which the Catholic doctrine was reintroduced into the Prayer Book of 1559 is the sentence the priest is instructed to say as he places the Host in the communicants' hands. In the 1549 it was a forthright implication of our Lord's Presence, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." The 1552 Book substituted a more definitely receptionist sentence, "Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving." The Prayer Book of 1559 restored the sentence of the 1549 Book and then added that of the 1552. Unfortunately the structure of the 1549 Book, which had been so badly mangled in 1552, could not be restored. But the Prayer Book of 1559 was a step in the right direction. It was approved by Parliament, but as the bishops were all opposed to it, it never obtained the consent of Convocation.

Elizabeth's next care was to provide the Church with bishops. The majority of the dioceses were vacant. Most of the men available for the Episcopate were deeply tinged with Calvinism. There was one outstanding exception. Matthew Parker (1504-1575) was a man after

Elizabeth's heart. She had him elected Archbishop of Canterbury and consecrated in 1559 by Bishops Barlow, Scory, Coverdale and Hodgkin. Barlow and Hodgkin had been consecrated by the Latin rite; the other two by the Ordinal of 1550. The latter was used in consecrating Parker. A few days later Parker consecrated eleven bishops to fill up the vacant dioceses.

Work was started on a revision of the Forty-two Articles. They were reduced to thirty-nine. The denial of the Real Presence was eliminated and a statement affirming it substituted. A final agreement was reached in 1571, when the Thirty-nine Articles were issued by the Convocation and the queen.

Because of the uncertainty of her position on the throne, and because of her hope that both Romanists and Protestants could be drawn into the Church of England, Elizabeth was at first very patient with both groups. In the end, however, her hand was forced and she had to take action against them. Most of the clergy at the beginning of her reign had strong Calvinist sympathies. They accepted her settlement because they had no alternative except open revolt and because they believed they could gradually change it into the Calvinism they desired. They were aided in this by the fact that there were no theological textbooks which taught Elizabeth's position. The scholastic theologians of the Middle Ages were no longer acceptable. Calvin's *Institutes* was the only systematic exposition of theology available and it became the normal textbook in the Universities. But Elizabeth was a good watchdog. She held the Church officially to the Prayer Book of 1559 and to the theological position she endorsed.

The Puritans nevertheless grew in numbers and power. By 1570 they felt strong enough to demand that the Church be changed from episcopal to presbyteral Church government. In 1582 they began to try to get their ideas into practice. When they could not get their compromise plan accepted, they became more violent and in 1588 opened an attack on the bishops in the Marprelate tracts.

During this period the Romanists also began to cause trouble. In the early years of Elizabeth's reign they had been relatively quiet. When Pius IV became Pope in 1559 he sent legates to Elizabeth in an attempt to win her allegiance. She would not let the legates enter England and turned down the Pope's invitation to send a delegation to the third assembly of the Council of Trent. Nevertheless Pius IV took no drastic action against her. His successor, Pius V, who became Pope in 1566, was a different type of man. He was an ardent supporter of the Counter-Reformation. Nothing could stop or soften his deter-

mination to bring all Europe back to the Roman Church. He saw in Elizabeth his arch-enemy. In 1568 a seminary was founded at Douai in France to train priests to work in England. A translation of the Bible into English was made, known as the Douai Version.

At first the Douai priests went to England simply to minister to Roman Catholics and to win converts. But in 1570 the Pope issued his excommunication of Elizabeth, declared her not to be the rightful Queen of England and called on all faithful Roman Catholics to remove Elizabeth from the throne. This automatically made all Romanists in England potential traitors. Most of them actually remained loyal to Elizabeth. But others began plotting against her, aided by some of the Douai priests and after 1581 by the Jesuits, who entered the fray. Efforts to put Mary, Queen of Scots, the Pope's candidate, on the throne forced Elizabeth to execute her in 1587. The next year Philip II of Spain was persuaded to send his Armada to conquer England and depose Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's position by 1570 was very different from what it was at the start of her reign. She had won the confidence of the nation in everything except religion. Even in that field she had the majority on her side. Secure on her throne, she was able to take the necessary measures against the malcontents both Romanist and Protestant. A series of increasingly repressive measures were put into effect. Finally in 1588 the Spanish Armada was destroyed by the English fleet and a subsequent storm. Elizabeth was completely triumphant. Roman Catholics were deprived of all civil rights and in 1593 Protestants who would not conform to the Church of England were banished.

Elizabeth's hope of drawing all Englishmen into the established Church was frustrated. But between 1559 and 1588 a new generation had grown up nourished on the Prayer Book. The latter had won their hearts. The religious position which Elizabeth had sought from the start had taken root and flourished. A school of theologians arose who expounded Anglican Catholicism. Richard Bancroft (1544-1610) and Thomas Bilson (1547-1616) maintained the necessity of Apostolic Succession in the Church. Richard Hooker (1553-1600), the most famous of the group, wrote *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, in which he attacked the Calvinist concept of God as immoral. To this Hooker opposed the universality of law as reflecting the perfection of God. Thus the universal law, not the opinions of individuals, became the basis of authority. By these theologians the Anglican position was rounded out. The Church of England, as an autonomous branch of the Catholic Church, had reached maturity when Elizabeth died in 1603.

B. THE STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

I. James I (1566-1625)

James was the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. In 1567 Mary was forced to abdicate in favor of her son, who became James VI of Scotland. He was brought up a strict Presbyterian, which was the official Church of Scotland. When Elizabeth died, James ascended the throne as James I, uniting the kingdoms of Scotland and England. James' accession was hailed with joy by the English Puritans, who believed that the new king would undo the work of Elizabeth and eliminate bishops from the Church of England.

They were doomed to disappointment. James had had his fill of gloomy Presbyterian morals. He was also tired of the control the presbyteries exercised over the state. He was convinced that only if the Church was governed by bishops could the state be ruled by the king. "No bishops, no king," was his watchword.

As soon as James entered England the Puritans presented a petition asking for reforms of the Church. They wanted the elimination of Confirmation, of various ceremonies, and of the terms priest and absolution from the Prayer Book. James called the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, at which the leaders of the Puritan party were invited to state their case before representatives of the Church of England. It soon became clear that the Puritans wanted more than a few ceremonial changes. They wanted to substitute Calvinist theology for the teaching of the Church of England. They also hinted that they eventually wished to put the bishops under the presbyteries. This was decisive as far as James was concerned. He would have none of it. His influence was thrown on the side of the Church. A code of canons was passed affirming the episcopate, the Prayer Book and the Thirty-nine Articles. All the clergy were required to accept them by oath. Most of the Puritans complied, but about 300 fled to Holland. In 1620 they were granted permission to settle in New England.

One important result of the Hampton Court Conference was that the king ordered a new English translation of the Bible. It was made from the original Hebrew and Greek texts and achieved a high degree of accuracy. Its magnificent prose has made it a classic of literature and it has probably had more effect on the English language as well as on English religion than any other book. Known as the King James' Version it was finally issued in 1611 and is the Authorized Bible of the English Church.

During James' reign the Roman Catholics were more stringently

repressed than before. This was because of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. James had relaxed the enforcement of the laws against the Romanists at the beginning of his reign. As a result their numbers started to grow. James ordered the laws enforced again in 1605. This led a small group of Romanists to decide to blow up the king and Parliament when it convened in November. For this purpose gunpowder was placed under the Parliament buildings. The plot was discovered and its perpetrators executed. Horror at this plot led to the removal of still more rights from the Romanists and the strenuous enforcement of all laws against them. All Roman priests were ordered out of England on pain of death; every effort was made to stamp out the Roman religion. Many suffered for their faith. This was a tragic persecution, for most of the Romanists were loyal subjects.

In theology James was slow in giving up his Calvinism. He made Bancroft, the defender of the episcopate, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1604, but in 1610 he appointed a Puritan, George Abbot (1562-1633), to succeed him. James sent representatives to the Calvinist Synod of Dort in 1618. Yet his determination to keep bishops, and the influence of Anglican theologians in his Court, gradually won him over to the Church's position.

Chief among these theologians and one of the saintliest bishops the Church of England has produced was Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626). After his education at Cambridge and his ordination to the priesthood in 1580 he began to attract attention as a preacher. He was particularly appreciated for his penetrating comments on Scripture and for his moral teaching. Andrewes was a most devout man of prayer. He was a great director of souls. In his private chapel, he used vestments, incense and full ceremonial in his celebration of the Eucharist; yet he did not try to impose these on the diocese which he ruled. Everyone loved him for his gentleness, tact, wisdom and humor. In a selfish and greedy society he was completely detached from the things of this world and had no political ambitions. In spite of this he was thrust into a Court career and became one of the most important counselors of the realm. The king was particularly attached to him. Yet he was able to fulfil his duties as a courtier and his responsibilities to the state without losing his humility and detachment and without stinting his service to the Church.

Andrewes was a member of the Hampton Court Conference and one of the translators of the King James' Bible, working chiefly on the Old Testament. He was made Bishop of Chichester in 1605, translated to Ely in 1609 and finally to Winchester in 1618. He wrote important

controversial works against the Roman Catholics, in which he showed himself a theologian of outstanding merit. He was able to defend the Anglican position on the basis of history and the teachings of the early Fathers. His theology is an advance on Hooker's, especially in regard to the Eucharist. Andrewes states the Anglican doctrine of the Real Presence clearly and definitely, insisting that the Eucharist is a sacrifice and that the Sacrament may be adored. In his writings Anglican theology is no longer making a timid apology for itself; neither is it fluctuating uncertainly between Protestantism and Catholicism. It has developed self-assurance, is keenly aware of its continuity with the traditional Faith and is able to compare itself favorably yet intelligently with the Roman position.

An Anglican school of devotion developed at this time also. The most prominent member was John Donne (1573-1631). He was brought up a Roman Catholic but became an Anglican about 1594. He was a poet. He inherited a considerable fortune and lived off that. When that was gone he lived on patronage. By 1607 he had become serious about his religious life and he wrote controversial tracts against the Romanists. In 1614 he was ordained priest and soon became famous for his sermons. His wife's death in 1617 deepened his conversion. This was expressed in some of the finest religious poems in English. He was made Dean of St. Paul's, London, in 1621. His preaching attracted huge crowds and did much to raise the spiritual life of London.

Another and even greater poet of this school was George Herbert (1593-1633). The son of a noble family, he first enjoyed a court career. In 1626 he decided to take Holy Orders and was ordained priest in 1630, becoming rector of a country church at Bemerton. There he devoted himself to ministering to his parishioners. After his death his religious poems were printed in a collection called *The Temple*. His prose work, *The Priest in the Temple, or, The Country Parson*, has been an inspiration to many priests humbly ministering to their flock. Izaak Walton's *Life of Mr. George Herbert* beautifully portrays his saintly character.

Finally there was Nicholas Ferrar (1592-1637), who about 1625 established a small religious community at Little Gidding. It was not a Religious Order as some of the members were married, but they lived an almost monastic life of austerity, devotion and good works. It is an indication of how far the Church of England had recaptured a true Catholic spirit that such a community could come into being. It survived Ferrar's death for ten years before it was broken up in 1647.

2. William Laud (1573-1645)

The man who brought this first triumph of the English Church both to its climax and to its end was William Laud. He studied at St. John's College, Oxford, getting his B.A. in 1594 and his D.D. in 1606. In 1601 he was ordained and as early as 1604 he was attacking the prevailing Calvinism at the University. He was made president of St. John's College in 1611 and in 1616 became Dean of Gloucester as well. At Gloucester Laud restored the altar to the cathedral, much to the annoyance of the bishop. In 1621 Laud was made Bishop of St. David's. He resigned his presidency of St. John's College, but by that time he had succeeded in breaking the hold of Calvinism on Oxford.

Laud had many points in common with Andrewes. He was a learned theologian, a brilliant thinker and an effectual controversialist. His concept of the Church and her teaching was that which Andrewes held. Laud was a man of real devotion and a skilful director of souls. He was a tireless worker. But Laud lacked Andrewes' gentleness, patience and tact. Laud was rude, domineering, brusque. He would brook no opposition and was easily angered. His strong will made him a forceful leader, but his methods deepened the antagonism of his opponents. Whereas Andrewes won the respect of his enemies, Laud offended even his friends. Whereas Andrewes was trusted and loved, Laud was feared and hated.

At King James' request in 1622 Laud engaged in a controversy with the Jesuit Fisher. In it Laud took the position that the Roman Church is not as it claims the only Church. It is, however, a branch of the Church, just as the Church of England is another branch. Laud's tolerant attitude toward the Roman Church led the latter to believe he was secretly in sympathy with it. The Pope twice offered to make him a Cardinal. But the Roman Church was wrong. Laud preferred the Church of England because it is closer to the Church of history. Free from the domination of the Pope, it is better able to determine in the light of Scripture what is the Catholic Faith.

Laud became a friend of the Duke of Buckingham, who was the favorite of Charles I (1600-1649). When the latter became king in 1625, Laud's rise to power was rapid. In 1626 he drew up for the king an annotated list of the clergy indicating which were Protestant and which he considered sound, in order that the latter might receive promotions. The same year he was made Bishop of Bath and Wells. In 1628 he became Bishop of London. That was the most Puritan diocese of England and Laud did all in his power to restore the

discipline and worship of the Church. Especially noteworthy was his restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Laud was made Chancellor of the University of Oxford. This gave him opportunity to complete his reforms there. He revised the statutes of the university, raised the standards both academic and moral, and revived the colleges. For his own college, St. John's, he built new buildings. He endowed professorships in Hebrew and Arabic, founded the University Press and built a new wing to the Bodleian Library to house a big collection of manuscripts which he donated. He wrote a history of his chancellorship.

Finally in 1633 Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He was now in a position where he could purge the whole Church of England of Calvinism. In his campaign he had the full support of Charles I. Laud sent his vicar-general throughout the Archdiocese of Canterbury, visiting every church and correcting abuses. The pulpits were moved from the center of the chancels and the altars restored. The clergy were ordered to wear surplices and the people to kneel for Communion. Needed church repairs were required to be made. Not only was heresy punished; so also were infractions of the Church's moral law and violations of Church property rights. Rich and poor, nobles and peasants, all were brought before Laud's court and punished if they were guilty of offenses. Other bishops followed Laud's example and were more careful in supervising their dioceses. A revival of worship and discipline was effected. But the ceremonial of worship offended the Puritans; the enforcement of discipline angered the evil-livers and the indifferent. Laud made many enemies.

He extended his operations to the Church of Scotland. Men who were called bishops had been appointed in the Scottish Church as early as 1572. They did not, however, have the Apostolic Succession. James I in 1610 had them consecrated by bishops of the Church of England so that they might have episcopal Orders. In 1637 Laud helped the Scottish bishops put out a new Prayer Book and canons for their Church. They set up the episcopal form of Church government and the Anglican system of worship. When Laud tried to enforce these in his usual high-handed manner, he overshot himself. Whereas in England the Puritans were in the minority, in Scotland the Calvinists were the majority. Furthermore the Scots considered this interference by an English bishop an attack on their national rights. Laud found it impossible to enforce his regulations on the Church of Scotland. This successful defiance of his discipline caused the whole structure built upon it to collapse.

The fundamental weakness of Laud's position was not his arrogance, however, but his concept of the Divine Right of Kings. This doctrine rested on the truth that all authority is from God. Therefore, the authority of the state in its proper sphere is God's authority. Its laws are God's laws; its legitimate officials, God's ministers. As such they are responsible to God and are obliged to do his will. This is true regardless of how the state chooses its officials. In a democracy the duly elected officers are God's ministers; in a hereditary monarchy the ruler who has legitimately inherited the throne is God's agent for governing the country. As such he must be obeyed and respected. The latter is the Divine Right of Kings.

A hereditary monarchy has one weakness. As long as the king is a good man, eager to do God's will, it works well. But the heir to the throne may be an evil or foolish man. If he has real power, he will misuse it and there is no legitimate way of disposing of him. As a safeguard against royal tyranny Parliament had been developed in England to restrain the king's authority to some extent. Before the Reformation when the Church was an international organization under the Pope, it could bring moral pressure on the king. After the Reformation, however, the king was the chief authority of the Church and it lost much of its independence.

Laud carried the Divine Right of Kings still further. To him it seems to have meant that the king can do no wrong. Because Charles backed Laud's Church reforms, Laud backed the rest of Charles' policy. Unlike his predecessors, Charles was unable to control Parliament. In 1629 he dissolved it and ruled without it for eleven years. Thus the one remaining check on the king's power was eliminated. Charles' methods of suppressing his opponents and of financing his ill-fated foreign wars further antagonized the people. Since Laud backed Charles, the Church, instead of using its influence to restrain the king, became identified with his unwise and high-handed policies. Charles had to call Parliament in 1640, in order to get money. Parliament immediately began to oppose the king all down the line. The first person to suffer at its hands was the king's arch-supporter, whose enforcement of discipline by the king's authority was so unpopular, William Laud. And with him the Church of which he was the head was attacked also.

Laud was impeached by Parliament in 1640 and sent to the Tower in 1641. It was not until 1644 that he was granted even a mockery of a trial. He bore his sufferings with great fortitude. He was condemned for high treason and, protesting his loyalty to the Church of England, was beheaded in 1645. By that time his whole system of Church dis-

cipline had been swept away. Yet Laud had not lived and died in vain. He saved the Church of England from Calvinism. The Puritans might persecute the Church as they were about to do, but after Laud's work they could not capture it. When the Puritans fell from power, the Church that revived in England was the Church as Laud conceived it.

3. The Commonwealth and Protectorate

The Puritans were able to gain control of the Church and state through the Long Parliament, which started its sessions in 1640. This was not because the Puritans themselves were in the majority either in the country at large or in Parliament itself. They were still a minority group. But they knew just what they wanted. They had a full and definite program for both Church and state. A determined and well-organized minority is always a force to be reckoned with.

The Puritans were not the only enemies of the king. Charles' lavish expenditures and his policies abroad had antagonized the Middle Class. Those who cherished English liberty were shocked by the king's autocracy. Many who were indifferent about religion were offended by the enforcement of Church discipline which checked their self-indulgence. Others who had enriched themselves at the Church's expense resented the insistence on the property rights of the Church. None of these groups was Puritan. But some of them were opposed to the Church's authority as Laud exercised it; others were opposed to the king's autocracy, which Laud endorsed. Therefore they identified the Church with the king's high-handed policy and were willing to join with the Puritans, the enemies of the Church, in order to curb the power of the king.

With the support of these groups, the Puritans were able to control Parliament. As none of the other groups had a clearly defined policy, the Puritans pushed theirs through. This first took the form of an attack on Laud and the bishops in which all the enemies of the king could agree. Twelve other bishops followed Laud to the Tower in 1641 and the next year the remaining bishops were excluded from the House of Lords. Charles did his best to protect the bishops, to no avail. Finding himself unable to control Parliament, he broke with it in 1642 and prepared for civil war. Like all the Stuarts, Charles was able to inspire a loyalty of which he did not prove worthy. The leading families rallied to his cause. Charles was able to raise a sizable army.

Parliament felt the need for allies and turned to Scotland. There

the Church, in repudiating Laud's reforms, had deposed the bishops in 1638. Unable to control the situation Charles had made a truce with the Scots in 1639, but he was determined to subdue them by force of arms. It was to raise money for this war that Charles convened Parliament in 1640. The struggle between Charles and Parliament made the war with Scotland impossible. When Charles broke with Parliament in 1642, the latter looked to Scotland for an ally against the king. The Scots demanded in exchange for an alliance that the English Church abolish bishops and become Calvinist. Parliament agreed. A committee of English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians drew up a Directory of worship that was substituted for the Prayer Book in 1645. The next year Parliament established Presbyterian Church government in the English Church and Calvinist catechisms were presented to Parliament for approval.

The same year, 1646, saw the collapse of Charles' forces. His army was defeated by the able generalship of the parliamentary commander, Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658). By the end of April, 1646 Charles was a fugitive without military support. But his enemies were no longer united. England did not take to the Presbyterian system which Parliament was trying to enforce. Many of the Puritans were members of the more radical sects, Baptists, Congregationalists, etc., to whom presbyters were as obnoxious as priests. This party, known as the Independents, was growing rapidly. It included in its ranks Cromwell and most of the army. The Scots were offended because the presbyterian system had not been made the sole religion in England.

Charles, having lost his own army, decided to capitalize on the divisions among his enemies. He joined the Scots. The majority of Parliament was alined with them against the Independents and the army. Had Charles been willing to accept Presbyterianism, he could probably have crushed the Independents. But what Charles really wanted was that the Presbyterians and Independents destroy each other, leaving him in command of the situation. His refusal to accept Presbyterianism led the Scots to hand him over to Parliament and withdraw. Charles in London played the Presbyterians and Independents against each other. When the latter hoped by Charles' help to triumph over Parliament, Charles fled in 1647. He was captured, but from prison he negotiated with the Scots in 1648 to invade England. This gave the Presbyterian majority in Parliament new hope and they legislated strongly against the Independents. The latter answered by having the army arrest all the members of the Presbyterian party. This put the Independents in control of what was left of Parliament.

Charles was brought before a court, condemned as a tyrant and traitor, and beheaded in 1649. He made a noble end. It has been said that nothing so became him in his life as his manner of leaving it.

As the remnant of Parliament was the most radical element in society, the Church and state soon collapsed into complete anarchy. Although the Presbyterian system still remained the legal religion, it was a dead letter throughout most of the country. Independent sects were everywhere tolerated and many of their ministers were appointed to parishes or simply seized them. The only force in the country able to bring order out of the prevailing chaos was the army under Cromwell. He was made Lord Protector of England in 1653. He granted full toleration to the Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists. The Anglicans were completely outlawed and any minister using the Prayer Book was removed from his parish. This eliminated the priests of the Church who had till then been able in many places to carry on their ministry.

Anglicanism, however, persisted. Its wealthier clergy did what they could to support their poorer brethren and to educate candidates for the ministry. Services were held in secret. Devout laymen, like Thomas Browne (1605-1682), a physician and author of *Religio Medici*, did what they could to comfort the discouraged and inspire loyalty.

Cromwell meanwhile was enforcing Puritan morals on the country. These were not welcome to the majority of Englishmen. The Puritan party, which had risen to power with the help of non-puritan allies, had long since dropped them and was maintaining itself by force. As long as Cromwell lived it could do so. After his death, there was no one strong enough to succeed him. His son was made Lord Protector in 1658 but proved unequal to the position. The army and Parliament soon were quarreling. England was tired of army rule, tired of Puritan morals and eager for the restoration of the Church. A newly elected Parliament invited Charles II (1630-1685), son and heir of Charles I, to take the throne.

The queen of Charles I and mother of Charles II was Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France and aunt of Louis XIV. It was to France that she and her sons had fled when the civil war forced them out of England. The lax and lavish character of Louis' Court impressed itself on Charles II and his brother James. They were also brought into sympathetic contact with Roman Catholicism. Charles II may have already become a member of the Roman Church before he ascended the throne in 1660. His brother James announced his conversion to Romanism in 1668.

4. The Restoration

When Charles II began to rule, the Church of England automatically became the national religion once more. William Juxon (1582-1663), who succeeded Laud as Bishop of London in 1633 and had attended Charles I on the scaffold, had remained in England. After being deprived of his diocese in 1649, he had retired to the country, where he lived privately. When Charles II came to England, Juxon was made Archbishop of Canterbury and crowned the king. The other surviving bishops came out of prison, exile or hiding and returned to their dioceses. Bishops were provided for the vacant sees. They were men of great learning of the Laudian school.

It was not necessary to repeal the laws against the Church passed by the Long Parliament. They were simply disregarded as the acts of a rebel government. But the help of the state was needed in recovering the Church's possessions and privileges. In 1661 its property was restored and the bishops readmitted to the House of Lords. Bishops were imposed on the Church of Scotland.

The Presbyterians in England, who had fared badly under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, showed indications of being willing to accept bishops and the Prayer Book. As a revision of the latter was about to be made, twelve bishops met with twelve Puritans at the Savoy Conference, 1661, to see if a compromise could be worked out. It soon became evident that no agreement was possible. The Puritans demanded even more than at Hampton Court in 1604. The Savoy Conference broke up and the Convocations of Canterbury and York proceeded to revise the 1559 Prayer Book. Many small changes were made, all indicating a further rejection of Puritanism. It was an improvement liturgically but still far short of the First Prayer Book. It was finally issued as the Prayer Book of 1662. All ministers of the Church were required to use it. Almost 2000 Puritans resigned their parishes rather than accept it.

Before Charles II came to England he promised toleration to all religious groups who would keep the peace. But his first Parliament was intensely loyal to the Church of England and determined that nothing should hinder its continuance. Recollections of Puritan rule were still fresh in men's minds. The traditional fear of Romanism was intensified by the power of Louis XIV across the Channel. Therefore Parliament passed a series of acts between 1661-1673 depriving both Protestants and Romanists of their rights. Charles tried to obtain some toleration, but when he saw that the temper of the people would not

permit it, he desisted. His main desire was to remain on the throne. If he was a Roman Catholic, he was sufficiently indifferent to his religion to conform outwardly to the Church of England and to allow Roman Catholics to be persecuted when he could not prevent it without endangering his own position. It was only on his deathbed in 1685 that he declared himself a Roman Catholic.

The confusion of the civil wars was not a time favorable to literary production. The two most famous works of Puritans, therefore, were not produced until the restoration period, when persecution forced their authors into retirement. John Bunyan (1638-1688) served in the Parliamentary army. Beginning in 1648 he went through a long and horrible spiritual struggle which eventually ended in his conversion. He became a Baptist preacher. At the Restoration he was imprisoned for twelve years. While there he wrote his vividly realistic allegory of the spiritual life called *Pilgrim's Progress*. This was published in 1678 and followed by other allegories only slightly inferior to it. John Milton (1608-1674) had already written much fine poetry as a young man before the civil wars broke out. He was a Puritan and began in 1641 to write pamphlets defending that point of view. He was made a secretary to the Commonwealth in 1649. He became blind about 1652. Although he defended the Protectorate right up to the arrival of Charles II, he somehow escaped execution. He lived in retirement for the rest of his life, dictating the Puritan epic, *Paradise Lost*, its sequel, *Paradise Regained* and a moving poetic drama, *Samson Agonistes*.

James II (1633-1701) became king on his brother's death in 1685. After his conversion to the Roman Church, James took his religion seriously, though it had little effect on his morals. He was determined, however, to bring England back under the Pope. He began appointing Romanists to public office in defiance of the laws against them. Roman Religious Orders were given houses in London. Mass was said publicly. The Church of England under the leadership of William Sancroft (1616-1693), Archbishop of Canterbury and the saintly Thomas Ken (1637-1711), Bishop of Bath and Wells, adhered to a policy of passive obedience. They refused to co-operate with James, but they refrained from active opposition.

In 1688 James tried to force their hands. He ordered the clergy to read his declaration of indulgence from the pulpits. The purpose of the indulgence was twofold. It was to free the Romanists from the laws against them. It was also to free the Protestants in the same way in order to win their support and to increase the opposition to the

Church of England. Few of the Protestants were fooled. They knew James' real purpose was to restore the Roman Church and they sided with the Church of England. Sancroft and Ken believed they could not read the declaration on constitutional grounds. By it the king on his own authority was setting aside legislation duly passed in Parliament. After a week's consultation seven bishops signed and presented to James a petition asking him to withdraw his order that the declaration be read. James refused. The next day the petition was printed without knowledge of the bishops. On the appointed day most of the clergy refused to read the declaration.

The seven bishops were arrested. Because they refused to supply bail, on the grounds of their exemption as nobles, they were put in the Tower. Their journey there was a triumphant procession with the people asking the bishops' blessing. At their trial the bishops were acquitted. This news was received with unbounded joy. Thus the people demonstrated to James that they would not accept Romanism.

At this point the leaders of Parliament, but not the seven bishops, invited William of Orange (1650-1702) to come to England and help them save the country from Romanism. William landed with an army, and James, with his second wife and infant son, fled. William was a grandson of Charles I, and William's wife, Mary (1662-1694), was James II's eldest daughter by his first wife. When William had captured London he let Parliament know he would be satisfied with nothing less than the throne. He and his wife were declared by Parliament joint rulers of England.

This posed a problem to the bishops who held the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. They had sworn allegiance to James II and he had not absolved them from their oaths. They believed they could not take an oath to William. As a result six bishops, including Sancroft, Ken and three other signers of the petition to James II, together with many priests and laymen, were driven out of the Church of England. The bishops and clergy were deprived of their dioceses and parishes. They are known as the Non-jurors.

They were a tremendous loss to the Church, for they numbered among them many of its most devout and learned sons. Some of the Non-jurors, like Ken, considered the decision merely a matter of their own consciences and refused to do anything to perpetuate the schism. The majority decided otherwise and consecrated bishops to succeed them. This succession lasted through the eighteenth century. Many Non-jurors engaged in futile plots to restore James II, and after his death, his son and grandson to the English throne.

The great achievement of the Non-jurors was their revision of the Prayer Book which they made in the eighteenth century. This did much to restore the original structure of the Communion Service. Their reforms were incorporated into the Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. When William and Mary came to the throne, the official Church of Scotland drove out its bishops and became Presbyterian again. But the Episcopal Church in Scotland continued as a minority group. Its Prayer Book was destined to transmit the Non-jurors' revision to the Prayer Book of the American Church.

C. DEVELOPMENTS IN ENGLAND

I. The Latitudinarians

England at the close of the seventeenth century, like Germany after the Thirty Years' War, was weary of religious struggles. Its determination to keep bishops and the Catholic life in the Church of England and yet to remain independent of Rome had been clearly demonstrated. This received its final confirmation when Parliament in 1689 refused to consider a new Prayer Book designed by William to satisfy the Puritans, until the Convocation had passed on it. Convocation, in its turn, made it so plain that no Puritan concessions would be made that the Prayer Book was not even submitted to it.

Nevertheless, it was also clear that, though the majority of the people wanted the Church of England, there were minority religious groups in the country that would not accept the Church and that were too strong to be eliminated. Furthermore pressure could hardly be put upon the Puritans when the king himself was a Calvinist. Therefore a new policy was forced upon the country. In 1689 the Toleration Act was passed. This allowed all Protestant Trinitarians to practise their religion provided that their meetings were open to the public.

This act did not establish complete toleration. Civil rights were not restored to the Protestants. The injunctions against the Roman Catholic, Unitarian and Jewish religions were not removed. Yet it was a step in the direction of ending religious persecution and an admission that the attempt to include the whole nation in the Church of England had failed.

Of the groups that were not tolerated the most persecuted were the Roman Catholics. This was natural since James II had been driven from the throne for attempting to restore that religion. He continued to claim that he was king and some of his co-religionists engaged in plots to restore him. This led to the passage in 1700 of the final act against the Romanists. The accumulated legislation then prevented

them from exercising their religion, from sending their children either to schools or to universities in England or to be educated abroad, from entering the learned professions or the service of the state, from inheriting or acquiring land or being members of corporations and from all participation in civil life.

The accession of William and Mary divided England into two political parties. Their roots were as much religious as political. There were two opposing points of view in the Church of England. The first was the High Church party, descendants of Andrewes and Laud. These were men of devotion and learning, loyal to the Church's sacramental system and historic Faith. Along with this went the Divine Right of Kings. They therefore opposed the accession of William. The Non-jurors were the extreme wing of this party. By the expulsion of the Non-jurors the High Church party lost much in numbers and some of its ablest leaders. Not all the High Churchmen felt obligated to refuse the oath to William, however. Those who took it continued the party within the Church and composed the opposition to William in the state. Politically they were known as Tories.

The second party in the Church of England was the Latitudinarians. Their position was more negative than positive. They were not interested in the historical claims of the Church nor in the sacramental system. They disliked the Church's discipline and ceremonies of worship. On the other hand they had no use for mysticism or the emotional side of Puritanism. They distrusted anything that smacked of enthusiasm, zeal or fervor. Religion for the Latitudinarians was based on reason, but their theology was often vague and indefinite. Preaching and writing of learned treatises of a more philosophical than theological nature were the chief expressions of their religion. A dull respectability was their highest aim in morality and worship. They were the reflection in the Church of England of that rationalism of which the Deists were the extreme example. As this was the prevailing attitude of the eighteenth century, the Latitudinarians were bound to prosper. Politically they were supporters of William and a strong element in the Whig party.

Since the political parties rested on religious divisions, politics began to infect the Church. William saw to it not only that the ministers of the state were Whigs, but also that the bishops of the Church were Latitudinarians. Toward the end of William's reign, however, the High Churchmen were growing in strength and a religious revival took place. This resulted in the formation in 1698 of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) and in 1701 of the Society

for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.). The former sent literature and the latter missionaries into the mission field.

William was succeeded in 1702 by Anne (1665-1714), the second daughter of James II by his first wife. She was a Tory and a devout supporter of the High Church party. At first the Whigs were in control of the state, and she could do little. In 1710 she was able to establish a Tory government and the High Churchmen took control of the Church. One unfortunate consequence was the revival of oppressive legislation against the Protestants. But the Church gained by their brief rule. Much was done to restore the spiritual life and to raise standards. Income taken from the Church by Henry VIII was restored in what is known as Queen Anne's Bounty.

Had Anne lived longer she might have named James II's son as her heir. She had not done this, however, when she died in 1714, and the fear of Romanism was so strong that he was passed over for the Lutheran George I, the great-grandson of James I, who reigned 1714-1727. George I took so little interest in England that he barely learned English. His son George II, who was king 1727-1760, was not much better. The Whigs returned to power and the government passed completely into the hands of the ministers of the state. Appointment of bishops was purely political, restricted to Latitudinarians. They in turn were mere tools of the state. The Church settled down to a dull respectability and lost vital contact with the majority of the population. Convocation was dissolved in 1717 and not permitted to meet again until 1850. Churches were neglected, the Eucharist celebrated only three or four times a year and preaching degenerated to the reading of sometimes learned but often merely boring sermons.

The High Church tradition did not completely die out, however. The clergy of that party who remained in the Church could hope for no advancement. The Non-jurors were outside the Church altogether. Yet in obscure and out-of-the-way places the principles of the spiritual life and devotion to the Sacraments were passed on from generation to generation. One of the best known transmitters of this tradition was the Non-juror William Law (1686-1761), whose *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* has been an influential spiritual book.

The easy-going indifference of the Latitudinarians revived the spirit of toleration. Most of the laws against the Protestants remained on the books, but they were not enforced. Relief for the Roman Catholics was slower in coming. James II's son, also named James and known as the Old Pretender (1688-1766), continued his claim to the Throne. His elder son, Charles (1720-1788), the Young Pretender, carried on

after him. Plots to restore them were hatched repeatedly. Had the Pretenders been willing to give up the Roman Church, they might have recovered the throne, but they refused. These political rebellions kept the legislation against the Romanists in force until after 1778. Then it too was relaxed. The chief legislation against them was repealed in 1828.

The laws against religious minorities were finally repealed in the nineteenth century. The Unitarians were recognized in 1813 as a legitimate group. Civil rights were restored to Protestants in 1828 and to Roman Catholics the next year. Minor Protestant groups, not yet included, were relieved in 1833, and in 1858 the legislation against the Jews was repealed.

2. The Methodists

Although the Church of England was at its lowest spiritual ebb in the eighteenth century it produced from within itself a revival of personal religion of tremendous strength and wide-spread appeal. Unfortunately, under the control of the Latitudinarians the Church was too unfaithful to its heritage to guide this movement into Catholic channels, too dull to appreciate its merits and too respectable to make room for it. The bulk of the movement moved out of the Church, leaving but a remnant to flourish awhile, bear some fruit and then wither in the prevailing barrenness.

John Wesley (1703-1791) and Charles Wesley (1707-1788) were respectively the fifteenth and eighteenth of nineteen children born to the poor Church of England rector of Epworth, a country parish. John studied at Oxford, and was ordained priest in 1726. The same year he became a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, but was acting as curate to his father most of the time until 1729. In 1726 Charles went to Oxford and the year following persuaded others to join him in weekly Communion, in keeping fasts and feasts of the Church and in visiting the poor. Because of the regularity of their spiritual life they were known as the Methodists. When John Wesley began to reside at Oxford in 1729 he became the leader of this group. He was at this time influenced by William Law's *Serious Call*. Besides his brother Charles, who was ordained priest in 1735, another famous member of the Oxford Methodists, who joined just before the Wesleys left Oxford, was George Whitefield (1714-1770).

After the death of their father in 1735, the Wesleys left for Georgia, John as an S.P.G. missionary and Charles as secretary to Oglethorpe, the governor of the colony. On the voyage out the brothers were

brought into contact with some Moravians and were deeply impressed by them. Charles had to return to England in 1736 because of illness. John organized a devout group in his parish along Moravian lines, but his stiff High Churchmanship and lack of judgment soon got him into difficulties. In 1738 he went back to England. He joined a Moravian group in London, and had a conversion experience that convinced him of his personal salvation through Christ. This was to him a new birth. Charles also had a conversion experience about the same time.

Meanwhile Whitefield had been converted in 1735, was ordained priest in 1738 and began to preach the Gospel to the poor. Crowds flocked to hear him and he moved them deeply. He had, however, had almost no training in theology and soon lapsed into Calvinism. He had no denominational feeling and no organizational ability. His most successful work was done in America, which he visited seven times. Although he was at first associated with the Wesleys in founding Methodism, he and John quarreled over theology. In England Whitefield's followers formed a separate group. In America Whitefield produced a great religious awakening which aided the growth and vitality of all Protestant Churches.

After his conversion John Wesley joined Whitefield at Bristol, where the latter was preaching successfully to the colliers. John participated in the work and was convinced of the value of outdoor preaching. Back in London, Wesley withdrew from the Moravians and in 1739 organized a devout society the members of which had had a conversion experience. A similar society was formed in Bristol. Wesley's ability to organize became speedily manifest. In 1742 John and Charles Wesley began preaching conversion and the love of God throughout England. The spread of Methodism among the poor was rapid. Its first Conference was held in 1744.

John Wesley refused to adopt Calvinism. His theology of salvation was Arminian. This led him to disagree with Whitefield in 1741. But although he was sound on that point, Wesley was no theologian. His greatest weakness was that he had no conception of the doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ. He wanted to remain faithful to the Church of England and during his lifetime prevented his followers from breaking away from it. But he thought of the Church merely as an organization for promoting Christianity. He failed to see it as an organism created by Christ to unite souls to himself. In particular Wesley did not recognize bishops and parish priests as the ones who were appointed to minister to the souls committed to their charge.

When the bishops and clergy failed to encourage his movement, Wesley cut across the organizational lines of the Church. He sent lay preachers out to conduct services without permission from the bishop or local rector. Wesley did not look to bishops as the guardians of the Church's Faith. He and his assistants tried, not always successfully, to check the heresies which their uninstructed lay preachers were teaching. The preachers were organized into circuits that covered the country.

Soon the Methodists were going further. Although Wesley was attached to the Sacraments, he failed to see that they could be acts of Christ only if their ministers were agents of Christ authorized in the way Christ had provided through ordination by bishops of the Apostolic Succession. In 1760 lay Methodist preachers began celebrating Holy Communion. In order to provide Sacraments for the growing Methodist Church in America, John Wesley, who was still just a priest, ordained Coke in 1784 as superintendent, instructing him to ordain Asbury as his assistant. When they reached America they called themselves bishops. But the Methodist succession is presbyteral not episcopal.

Charles Wesley was distressed by this deviation from the Church of England. His work was mainly in Bristol and London. He was no longer active in the main stream of the Methodist movement. He is chiefly famous as a hymn writer, having written about 6500 hymns. Eighteen are in *The Hymnal, 1940*. He died, a priest of the Church of England, in 1788.

John Wesley was also a priest of the Church of England when he died in 1791. He had kept the Methodists from withdrawing. This, however, was a mere formality. Wesley had actually set up an independent church organization. Its members, mostly drawn from the poorer class, had little contact with the Church before their conversion. They did not have Wesley's sentimental attachment to the English Church. In 1795, four years after Wesley's death, most of the Methodists had withdrawn from it. Almost at once they fell to quarreling among themselves and split up into several independent groups. Recently the Methodists in America have reunited.

The departure of the Methodists was a loss to the Church of England. They had developed a deep piety and vital zeal. Still more important, they had discovered how to reach the poor and the working man, whom the Church of England was conspicuously failing to touch. It is difficult to say how much the Church was to blame for losing the Methodists. John Wesley from the start set up an organiza-

tion that was bound eventually to break away. But the Latitudinarians, who controlled the Church, must share the blame of his having resorted to such an organization. If Wesley did not learn to think of the Church as the Body of Christ, it was because the Latitudinarians did not hold and teach that doctrine themselves. If Wesley intruded in parishes without permission of the clergy, it was because the clergy, suspicious of his enthusiasm, would not welcome him. If Wesley sent out laymen to preach to the poor, it was because the Latitudinarians were too dull and too respectable to carry the Gospel to them. Wesley was headstrong and stubborn. Perhaps he would not have submitted to the Church had it been fully alive and healthy. But in fact the Church was asleep on the job. Wesley saw the need of converting the poor; he found a method of reaching them. His love of God and of souls was too great to let the Church hinder him from carrying the Gospel to them.

A few of the Methodists stayed in the Church of England. Curiously enough they were the ones who had adopted Calvinist theology. But it was a mild Calvinism. They aroused some real piety and raised moral standards. They were known as the Evangelical or Low Church party. Their chief contributions were an attack on social evils and enthusiastic work in foreign missions. Under the leadership of William Wilberforce (1759-1833) the slave trade was abolished in the British Empire in 1807 and slaves were freed in 1833. The Church Missionary Society organized by the Evangelicals in 1799 rapidly became the chief missionary agency of the Church. At first the Evangelical clergy could not hope for advancement in the Church, but by 1800 they were taking over its leadership. Unfortunately the original enthusiasm of the group was already dying out. At first they inspired real personal devotion. But when they came into power they did little more than the Latitudinarians before them to revive the Church.

3. The Tractarians

The revival of Church life was to come from a different group from the Methodists. This group started from the same tradition that first inspired Wesley, but which, under the impact of his conversion experience, he forsook. The birthplace of this new movement was Oriel College, Oxford. Four of the Fellows of that college were to be its first leaders.

John Keble (1792-1866) was the son of a priest of the old High Church tradition. Educated at Oxford, he became a Fellow of Oriel at the age of nineteen. He was ordained priest in 1816 and retired to

the country to help in his father's parish in 1823. He published a book of poems entitled *The Christian Year* in 1827 which went through 158 editions before 1872. Three hymns from it are in *The Hymnal, 1940*. In 1831 Keble was elected professor of poetry at Oxford. This brought him back into contact with the University.

John Henry Newman (1801-1890) became a Fellow of Oriel in 1822. He was the son of a London banker and had been brought up in a Calvinist tradition, having a conversion experience at the age of fifteen. At Oxford he became a learned theologian. In 1826 he was made a tutor at Oriel and in 1828 vicar of St. Mary's, the University Church. He also was a poet. He wrote *Lead, Kindly Light* in 1833. This and one other of his hymns are in *The Hymnal, 1940*. By 1830 Newman had shifted from the Low Church to the High Church party.

Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882) studied at Oxford and in Germany and became an outstanding scholar. He was made a Fellow of Oriel in 1824 and was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew and canon of Christ Church in 1828.

Richard Hurrell Froude (1803-1836) was the son of an archdeacon. He was the most adventurous of the group. He became a Fellow and tutor of Oriel in 1826. It was through him that Newman and Pusey were led to appreciate Keble.

In 1833 Keble preached a sermon at Oxford on National Apostasy. Its occasion was the suppression by the government of ten bishoprics in Ireland. As the Anglican bishops there were supported by taxes paid by a Roman Catholic populace, it was right that their number should be decreased. What Keble objected to was that the state had done this without consulting the Church. It illustrated how the Church was no longer fulfilling its function of religious leadership but had become a mere creature of the state.

The sermon met with wide-spread approval from those who longed for a revival of the Church. It led to a meeting of clergy at the rectory of Hugh James Rose (1795-1838) in Hadleigh. Rose was a Cambridge High Churchman and founder of the *British Magazine*. Froude was present at the meeting. It was agreed that, to revive the Church, the tradition of Andrewes and Laud should be vigorously taught. Men must be shown what the Church really was. To do this a series of popular pamphlets were put out at Oxford under the title *Tracts for the Times*. Keble, Froude and Newman were among their authors. The early ones were brief. The later ones became longer and more scholarly. At first they were well received. The theology of the Prayer

Book and the Anglican Fathers was a breath of fresh air in the stuffy nineteenth century Church.

Pusey was slow in joining the movement, but by 1836 he was writing *Tracts* and had begun the *Library of the Fathers*, an English edition of the works of the theologians of the Church. This was to show the continuity of Anglican theology with that of the fourth and fifth centuries.

By this time opposition to the Tractarians was building up. The *Tracts* were becoming more definite in their sacramental teaching. After Froude's death in 1836 his manuscripts were published. This was probably unwise, for his bold spirit and keen insight had led him to plunge ahead faster than the Church was able to absorb the new yet ancient teaching. The opposition grew.

The storm broke in 1841 over the publication of *Tract XC*. This tract maintained that the Thirty-nine Articles did not condemn any Catholic doctrine and hardly any Roman Catholic doctrine. This was quite true, of course, but the Articles had for so long been interpreted in a Protestant sense that it came as a shock. A howl went up throughout the Church. The heads of colleges at Oxford condemned the tract and its unknown author. Newman admitted his authorship and in 1842 retired to a village near Oxford. With a band of friends he lived a semi-monastic life and spent his time in study and prayer. The publication of the *Tracts* ceased.

Even before the storm broke, Newman had had a moment of doubt about the validity of the Church of England. Now these doubts increased. His difficulty was that, unlike Keble, he had not experienced as a child the Catholic tradition which had persisted in the English Church underneath the prevailing Latitudinarianism. Newman had been brought up as a Low Churchman. At Oxford he became intellectually convinced of the Catholic position. He then looked at the Church and expected to see it in action. It was not visible, of course, since the bishops were all Low Church. This finally convinced Newman that he was wrong in thinking the Church to be essentially Catholic. After a long struggle he joined the Roman Church in 1845. Since he had been the leader of the Tractarians, he took many of his followers with him. In 1850 there was another big exodus to the Roman Church, including Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892), who later became a Cardinal and, as Archbishop of Westminster, head of the Roman Catholics in England.

Newman's career as a Roman Catholic was tragic. His learning and brilliant mind made it difficult for him to fit into the rigid Roman

mold. His writings were a constant embarrassment to them. They had no way of using his talents. He was made Rector of the University of Dublin in 1854 but soon had to resign. The rest of his life he spent in obscurity. His *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* is a great spiritual autobiography. In 1879 Newman was belatedly made a Cardinal, over the protest of Cardinal Manning. Newman, in spite of his unhappiness, remained a Roman Catholic until his death in 1890.

The enemies of the Tractarians thought Newman's defection proved that their opposition had been justified and the movement would die out. They set about to extinguish the remaining embers. They did not succeed. The leadership passed to Pusey, since Keble had resigned his Oxford professorship and returned to his first love, a rural ministry. In 1835 Keble became vicar of Hursley. Although he kept in constant touch with the Catholic revival, giving encouragement and advice in all its crises, he devoted himself so faithfully to his parishioners that they were not aware of his outside interests. They were astonished at the crowd of dignitaries from all over England, including William Gladstone (1809-1898), who was to be Prime Minister, that attended the funeral of their humble priest in 1866.

Pusey was eminently qualified to lead the movement. As Regius Professor of Hebrew his position at Oxford was secure. His massive learning made him the most respected member of the University. Scholarly treatises on all controverted points were written by him as they were needed. He revived the Sacrament of Penance and defended its use. He raised up a new generation of priests trained in the Catholic Faith and life. He was a man of deep prayer and strict austerity yet most gentle in his direction of others. His liberality was bounded only by the limitations of his means. He personally, though anonymously, built St. Saviour's Church, Leeds, a parish for poor workingmen. Most important of all, his humble and patient perseverance was the rock on which the Catholic revival was built. When he was suspended from preaching for two years in 1843 because of the first of two sermons on the Eucharist, he accepted the sentence without protest. As soon as he could preach again he delivered the second sermon.

The Tractarian movement was not restricted to Oxford. Scholars in other parts of the country assisted in its work. One of these was John Mason Neale (1818-1866), who studied at Cambridge. In 1846 he became warden of a poorhouse in East Grinstead. Because of his Churchmanship he had trouble with his bishop and was forbidden to exercise his ministry except to the few old people in the poorhouse, whom he cared for faithfully. He was the leading authority on the

services of the Church. He translated the Orthodox liturgies and innumerable hymns. Thirty-nine of the latter are in *The Hymnal*, 1940.

4. The Catholic Revival

The Tractarian phase of the Catholic Revival was intellectual. It revived and taught the traditional theology which had been neglected for over a century, especially the doctrines of the Church as the Body of Christ and the Sacraments as the appointed means of grace. Thereby it laid the solid foundation for the revival of the Church. The lack of this foundation is what had caused the Methodists to wander astray. The primary emphasis which the Oxford Tractarian Movement placed on the Church saved it from this fate.

There was from the first a deeply devotional side to the movement. The full Catholic form of spiritual life, nourished on both Sacraments and prayer, was revived. So rapidly did this flourish and so deep were its roots that it soon brought forth a rival of Monasticism in the English Church. Here, as in everything else, Pusey was the leader. In 1841 Marian Hughes took her vows as a nun in Pusey's presence. She was not free to start her community until 1849, when she founded the Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity at Oxford.

Meanwhile in London, also under Pusey's direction, the first convent since the Reformation was founded in 1845 and dedicated to the Holy Cross. Pusey had difficulty in finding a Mother Superior and his final choice was not a wise one. In 1848 Priscilla Lydia Sellon with Pusey's help founded the Society of the Holy Trinity at Devonport. When Florence Nightingale called for nurses to go to the Crimea, Sisters from both London and Devonport Orders responded. The Superior of the London Order went with them and Miss Sellon ran both Communities in England. After the return of the Sisters from Crimea, the Superior of the London Order, who had never been equal to her task, joined the Roman Church. The London Sisters were then absorbed in Miss Sellon's Community. Other Orders for women sprang up, including the Sisterhood of St. Margaret founded at East Grinstead by John Mason Neale.

Orders for men developed more slowly. Richard Meux Benson (1824-1915) founded the Society of St. John the Evangelist at Cowley, near Oxford, in 1866. This was followed in 1891 by the Society of the Sacred Mission at Kelham and the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield in 1892. Other Orders, including those of the Franciscan and Benedictine type, have since been founded.

The Tractarians were content with teaching the Catholic Faith and reviving the spiritual life. Except for Neale, whose study of the traditional services of the Church interested him in the subject, the original leaders were not concerned with ritual and ceremonial. The priests of the second generation were. There was good reason for this. They wanted to take the Catholic doctrine and life, which they learned under Pusey and the others, out into parishes of the Church. They were particularly eager to teach the poor and underprivileged. As the poor were ignorant, often illiterate, they could not be taught by tracts or even by sermons. They had to be shown that Christ was present in the Holy Communion. This could be done only by treating the Sacrament with solemn and dramatic reverence. The traditional ceremonies of the Church, with their vestments, candles and ritual, were what was needed. It was also necessary to dignify the altar, celebrate Holy Communion frequently, make it the chief service on Sunday, and help people prepare for receiving Communion by adequate penitence through the use of Confession.

All this was done with striking success, especially in the slums of the big cities. Particularly noteworthy was the work of Charles Lowder (1820-1880) at St. Peter's, London Docks. When in 1856 he started a mission in the worst slum area of London, he was faced with the scorn and hostility of the people. On one occasion his friends barely saved him from being thrown into the river by an angry mob. His opportunity came when the plague swept London in 1866. With the help of Pusey and others he ministered to the bodies as well as the souls of his people. By so doing he won their hearts. He soon had a flourishing congregation, thoroughly trained in the Catholic life, and had raised the standards throughout the area. Lowder died on a trip to the Continent. When his body was brought back for burial, not only did his congregation form his funeral procession from the edge of the parish to the church, but the rest of the populace lined the streets in a silent, reverent tribute to his love of souls.

Robert Dolling (1851-1902) was another famous priest of the Catholic Revival. As a layman in London Dolling worked successfully with the Postmens' League which had been started by another great priest of the revival, Arthur Stanton (1839-1913). Dolling also worked with slum children. In 1883 he was ordained priest and in 1885 went to St. Agatha's, Landport, in the slums of Portsmouth. For ten busy years he built up the Catholic life of the parish and effected many reforms in the neighborhood. A dispute with his bishop, who refused to sanction an altar where Masses for the dead were celebrated, led

Dolling to resign in 1895. He never found such congenial work again. The account of his ministry entitled *Ten Years in a Portsmouth Slum* is thrilling reading.

The dispute that caused the tragic ending of Dolling's ministry in Portsmouth was an instance of the persecution that the Catholic revivalists were undergoing during the second half of the nineteenth century. The traditional Faith and practice were abhorrent to many Low Churchmen. The rapid and successful spread of this teaching infuriated them. They concentrated their attack on ceremonial and ritual. This outward sign of Catholicism attracted attention and reminded them of the Roman Church which they hated. Furthermore in an attack on it they could appeal to the law courts. In England the directions of the Prayer Book are part of the law. Violation of them is a punishable offense. The directions had been interpreted in a Protestant way for 150 years. The Low Churchmen maintained that the Anglo-Catholics were breaking the law. At first they tried to stop the ritual revival by riots which aimed at interrupting services. When this failed they resorted to legal action. A purely civil court was set up to handle the cases. Catholic-minded priests refused to admit the legality of such a court and five of them went to prison rather than submit to its judgments. This swung popular sympathy in their favor.

In 1888-1890 the Protestants overreached themselves in attacking Edward King (1829-1910), Bishop of Lincoln. His saintly character and the dignity with which he conducted himself won the hearts of all and turned them against his persecutors. Although objection to ritual is still strong in some quarters, there have been no further attempts to suppress it by court action. It should be noted that the ceremonies which the priests went to jail for using have long since been accepted in parishes of the lowest Churchmanship. The ritual practices that arouse opposition today are much in advance of those used by the early ritualists. During the ritual trials, the Anglo-Catholics found able support in Charles Lindley Wood, Viscount Halifax (1839-1934). He was an ardent participant in the Catholic Revival and president of the Church Union, a society of clergy and laymen for promoting the Faith and Sacraments. He was instrumental in having the Pope consider Anglican Orders in the hope that they would be recognized as valid. The Pope, however, condemned them in 1896. Viscount Halifax, at the invitation of Cardinal Mercier (1851-1926), Archbishop of Malines, attended a series of conferences between Anglicans and Roman Catholics that was held in Malines, 1921-1925. They explored the possibility of union between the two Churches but with no result.

The Catholic Revival has spread to the mission field. It had the advantage of having monks and nuns available for this work. Various societies for the promotion of missions have been organized. Particularly successful has been the work of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. A leader in this field was Frank Weston (1871-1924), Bishop of Zanzibar. Not only did his devotion to his diocese make many converts and establish a strong Church; he was also vigorous in his condemnation of heresy. He declared his diocese not to be in communion with the Diocese of Hereford because of the encouragement of heresy by its bishop. As president of the Second Anglo-Catholic Congress in 1923, he won world-wide acclaim as a leader of the Catholic Revival.

D. ANGLICANISM

1. The Anglican Communion

The Anglican Communion is composed of those Churches which have received their bishops from the English Succession, continue the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Church of England and are in communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The latter is the titular head of the Anglican Communion, but he has no authority outside his own Province and the missionary areas attached to it. The Communion consists of fourteen autonomous Churches, and missionary districts dependent on one or another of these Churches. There are over three hundred dioceses and about thirty million baptized members. It is a world-wide Christian fellowship.

The fourteen autonomous Churches are as follows:

1. The Church of England consists of two Provinces, Canterbury with twenty-nine dioceses and York with fourteen. Each Province has its Convocation, with an Upper House of Bishops and a Lower House of Priests. The whole Church of England is governed by the Church Assembly, which is made up of the two Convocations together with a House of Laity. The Church of England, however, is still an Established Church. This means that Parliament has the final say on its legislation. Bishops, deans, etc., are appointed supposedly by the king. In practice this means by the Prime Minister. An anomalous situation occurs when the Prime Minister is not himself a member of the Church of England and yet appoints its chief clergy. There is agitation for the election of bishops by the Church and even for disestablishment of the Church. Yet it must be admitted that the state has done a reasonably good job of appointing bishops.

2. The Church in Wales became an autonomous Church and was

disestablished in 1920. It is a small Church with six dioceses.

3. The Episcopal Church in Scotland is a minority group. The Established Church of Scotland is Presbyterian. The Episcopal Church has seven dioceses and is numerically small.

4. The Church of Ireland was disestablished in 1871. As the population of Ireland is predominantly Roman Catholic, except in Ulster, the Church of Ireland is small. It has two Provinces totaling fourteen dioceses.

5. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America consists of eight Provinces. It has seventy-four dioceses and thirteen missionary districts within the United States, and several overseas missionary districts. Its governing body is the General Convention which meets every three years. It is composed of a House of Bishops and a House of Deputies, half of the latter being priests and half laymen. The executive head of the Episcopal Church is the Presiding Bishop. He is elected by the House of Bishops with the consent of the Deputies. He is assisted by an elected National Council made up of bishops, priests and laymen. The Church has over two million members. Its history will be considered in the next chapter.

6. The Church of England in Canada has four Provinces totaling twenty-eight dioceses. It is governed by a General Synod and has an elected Primate.

7. The Church in the Province of the West Indies consists of eight dioceses. All are disestablished except Barbados. There are five missionary districts of the American Episcopal Church in the area. Efforts are being made to include them in the Church of the West Indies.

8. The Church of the Province of South Africa has fourteen dioceses.

9. The Church of India, Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon became autonomous in 1927. It has seventeen dioceses but the four dioceses of South India withdrew from the Anglican Communion in 1947 to join a United Church with various Protestant sects. It is hoped that Apostolic Succession and the Anglican doctrine, discipline and worship will ultimately prevail in this Church and that it will eventually be restored to the Anglican Communion. At present, however, its arrangements are far from satisfactory.

10. The Church of England in Australia and Tasmania has four Provinces with twenty-five dioceses.

11. The Church of the Province of New Zealand has nine dioceses.

12. The Holy Catholic Church in China was formed in 1912. It

has fourteen dioceses, three of which were missions of the Episcopal Church until the Communists came to power.

13. The Holy Catholic Church in Japan was formed in 1887. It has ten dioceses, three of which were missions of the Episcopal Church until 1941, when the native bishops took over. It suffered greatly in the war but is now recovering.

14. The Church of the Province of West Africa has five dioceses. The American missionary district of Liberia, which is in this area, has not become part of the Province.

The eight dioceses of East Africa are in the process of becoming an autonomous Church. This is the area in which the Universities' Mission to Central Africa has been doing its excellent work.

There are several other independent dioceses, and missionary districts under the jurisdiction of one or another of the autonomous Churches.

In the mission field, as in many other matters, the Anglican Communion comes somewhere between the Roman Church and the Protestant Churches. It does not have the overall organization of the Roman Church. In the Church of England the missionary work is handled by societies such as the S.P.G., the Church Missionary Society and the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Some of these are organized on the basis of Low or High Churchmanship and receive their support from the corresponding party. In the American Episcopal Church most missions are supervised and financed by the National Council. Although many Anglicans have been generous in supporting missions and there have been many devoted missionaries, the field is always short of funds and workers.

The techniques used have varied with the Churchmanship of the group working in an area. But the aim of all Anglican missions is to set up autonomous local Churches with native clergy. This is generally being accomplished.

In 1867 the bishops of the whole Anglican Communion were invited by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the first Lambeth Conference. That Conference has continued to meet every ten years, except for interruptions caused by war. The eighth met in 1948. This conference is a consultative body with no actual authority, but its decisions carry great weight.

At the third conference in 1888 the Lambeth Quadrilateral was adopted. This stated the minimum terms for union with other Churches to be the Bible, the Creeds, the Sacraments of Baptism and

Holy Communion, and the Episcopate. Intercommunion has been achieved with the Old Catholics in communion with the Archbishop of Utrecht and with the Swedish National Church.¹ Negotiations are being carried on with the Churches of Norway, Denmark and Finland. The American Church is in communion with the Polish National Catholic Church in the United States. The Philippine Independent National Church, which broke off from the Roman Church in 1902 and subsequently lost its Apostolic Succession, has had its Orders restored from the American Episcopal Succession.

2. Apostolic Succession

The Anglican Communion is part of the Catholic Church because it has maintained the Apostolic Succession. This is not to say that the Apostolic Succession alone would make a Catholic Church. There must also be the Catholic Faith, the Catholic moral law, and the Catholic Sacraments. But the succession of bishops ordained by bishops right back to the Apostles is the lifeline that transmits and safeguards the other elements of the Tradition. In particular it is essential to the Sacraments, for only a validly ordained priest or bishop can act as the agent of Christ in administering most of them.

In its controversies with the Anglican Communion the Roman Church has tried to deny that the Apostolic Succession was retained by the Church of England. It has used four main arguments which we shall review with the Anglican answers.

1. Matthew Parker, they claim, was never consecrated.

a) The Nag's Head Fable. Matthew Parker was Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated in 1559 by Bishops Barlow, Scory, Coverdale and Hodgkin. A story began to circulate in 1604 that Parker was at the Nag's Head Tavern and Scory placed a Bible on his head saying, "Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely." This, according to the fable, is all the consecration he received.

The story is completely unfounded. The record of Parker's consecration in the Lambeth Chapel according to the Ordinal of 1550 is to be found in the Lambeth register. There are many contemporary notices of it. Even the Roman Catholics officially admit that the Nag's Head fable is false.

b) Barlow was not a bishop. Barlow presided at Parker's consecra-

¹ Intercommunion with the Swedish National Church was recommended by the Lambeth Conference in 1920 and has been acted upon on several occasions. But it has never been officially ratified by any Church of the Anglican Communion.

tion. There is no record in Cranmer's register of his consecration of Barlow. There is no record of it at St. David's, Barlow's diocese. The Romanists, therefore, began to claim in 1616 that Barlow was not a bishop. Since he was the chief consecrator, and since, according to the Roman theory, only the chief consecrator transmits Orders, Parker was consecrated by a man who was not a bishop.

The omission of the notice of Barlow's consecration from Cranmer's register is not surprising. The register was most carelessly kept. For instance, there is no record of Stephen Gardiner's consecration either, yet he was accepted by Cardinal Pole. The reason there is no record of Barlow's consecration at St. David's is that no register has survived. Barlow had to be consecrated according to law. Failure to have received consecration would have been punished by Henry VIII. As it was, Barlow was accepted without question as a consecrated bishop. On one occasion he had a lawsuit with his cathedral chapter of St. David's. If they could have successfully questioned his consecration they would have won the suit. The question was never raised.

Furthermore even if there were anything wrong with Barlow's consecration it would not affect Parker's consecration. To make assurance quadruply sure, all four bishops pronounced the words of ordination as well as put their hands on his head. We know this from contemporary accounts. All the bishops, therefore, were consecrators and there is not even a question about the validity of the other three. Again the Romanists have given up this argument.

2. The Ordinal of 1550 is deficient in matter. The matter of a Sacrament is the outward action. The Roman Church used to claim that the handing over of the instruments of office is part of the essential matter of Ordination. In the case of a priest this means the delivery to the man being ordained of a paten with a host on it and a chalice containing wine and water. This ceremony is omitted in the English Ordinal.

The matter of Ordination is the laying on of hands. The ceremony of handing over the instruments of office arose in the West during the eleventh century. It was unknown in the early Church and still is in the East. If it is necessary for Ordination, no one has valid Orders. The Roman Church now admits this. But they point to the omission of the ceremony as further indication that Cranmer did not intend to continue the traditional priesthood (see argument 4 below).

3. The Ordinal of 1550 is deficient in form. The form of a Sacrament is the words said in administering it. The Ordinal of 1550 did not have the title of the Order being conferred—bishop, priest, or

deacon—in the prayer of Ordination. The Church tried to make up this deficiency, the Romanists say, by inserting titles in 1662, but by then it was too late.

The answer is that a separate service is provided for each Order. Each service refers repeatedly by name—bishop, priest or deacon—to the Order which is being conferred. Furthermore the Roman Council of Trent says that a valid Ordination prayer must either contain the title of the Order conferred or make an indirect reference to it. The 1550 Ordinal has an indirect reference to the priesthood in its Ordination Prayer: "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." This confers power to give sacramental absolution which is part of the priestly office. Likewise the 1550 episcopal Ordination Prayer refers indirectly to the office of a bishop in the words, "Stir up the grace of God," which is a paraphrase of II Timothy 1: 6, a passage which refers to Timothy's Ordination as a bishop. The titles were inserted in 1662, not to make up a deficiency but to show the Presbyterians that their request at the Savoy Conference that the title priest be dropped had not been granted.

It should be noted in passing that the English Ordinal is clearer and more definite than the Roman Ordinal. It is impossible to tell in the latter just where the Ordination takes place.

4. It was not the intention of the Church to continue the traditional Orders.

a) Cranmer is known not to have held the traditional concept of Orders. In particular he did not believe in the Sacrifice of the Mass, nor that Christ was locally present in the consecrated bread and wine. Hence he did not intend to make priests capable of offering sacrifice and of consecrating the elements. He used the titles bishop, priest, deacon, but he meant something else by them.

What Cranmer personally believed does not affect the question. He drew up the Prayer Book in 1549 which was satisfactory, even in the Communion Service, to Gardiner, a staunch Catholic. The Church accepted the 1549 book because it could be interpreted in a Catholic sense. Cranmer had to draw it up that way because he knew the Church intended to go on being Catholic. In 1552 he felt stronger and put out a more Protestant book. But this was never accepted by the Church. The few changes in the 1559 book eliminated the definitely Protestant elements of the 1552 book. Hence the Church whenever it could express itself demonstrated its intention to be Catholic. It is the Church's intention that counts, not Cranmer's.

Furthermore the preface to the Ordinal says, "It is evident . . . that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church,—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. . . . Therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued," the Ordinal is issued. That is an explicit statement of the intention to continue Orders as they have been since the Apostles' time.

b) Barlow, Scory, Coverdale and Hodgkin personally held a Protestant concept of the ministry. Therefore they did not intend to make Parker a Catholic bishop.

The minister of a Sacrament must intend to minister it. But his intention need be no more than a general intention of doing what the Church does; he must be seriously administering it, not just pretending. What the minister knows or thinks about the Sacrament does not affect its validity. If it did we could never be sure whether a Sacrament is valid or not, since we cannot know what the minister is thinking. One purpose of the Sacraments is to give assurance. Therefore a general intention is enough. Barlow and the others seriously intended to administer the Sacrament of episcopal Ordination to Parker, whatever they thought that Sacrament implied. That is enough.

There are few things that can be proven so conclusively as that Anglican Orders are valid.

3. The Prayer Book

Just as the Apostolic Succession is the lifeline that keeps the Anglican Communion in contact with the Church, the Body of Christ, so the Prayer Book has preserved for it the Catholic Faith. Whatever Cranmer's private views may have been, he produced in 1549 a Catholic book. His knowledge of the true form of the Communion Service led him to follow it even when he desired to change the Church's teaching on the subject. It is true that in 1552 he jumbled the form and inserted passages that unmistakably asserted his Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist. But the worst of these features were removed by Elizabeth and the essential Catholicity of the book remained.

The Prayer Book has not always been interpreted in its Catholic sense. But it has demonstrated its power to preserve the Faith for the Church of England through periods when the officials of the Church were trying to impose Protestantism upon it. Fortunately it has not been easy to change the Prayer Book. It has therefore continued to be Catholic. People have kept on praying by it when Protestantism has

been taught in the pulpit and in the theological schools. Sooner or later the contrast between the Prayer Book and the official teaching has been noticed. Then out of the Prayer Book has come a revival of belief in the Catholic Faith.

That happened in the time of Elizabeth. During the early years of her reign the majority of bishops were Calvinists. The textbook of the Universities was Calvin's *Institutes*. But Elizabeth forced the Church to use the Prayer Book and when a generation nourished on it had grown up, the essentially Catholic theology of Bancroft, Andrewes and Laud ousted Calvinism. Again during the period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the persecuted Anglicans secretly clung to the Prayer Book. Therefore when Puritanism fell from power, it was the essentially Prayer Book theology of Bancroft, Andrewes and Laud that returned with the Restoration.

During the eighteenth century the Latitudinarians were in power. They disregarded large sections of the Prayer Book teaching. Church life sank to a low ebb. The Latitudinarians, however, did not feel strongly enough about anything to bother to change the Prayer Book. They simply ignored its Catholic elements. When they were succeeded by the Low Churchmen who held a moderately Calvinist theology, the Prayer Book had so long been interpreted in a Protestant sense that they did not realize it was packed with power for Catholicism. Therefore the Low Churchmen did not try to change the Prayer Book.

So the Prayer Book produced in the nineteenth century the Catholic Revival. To bring this about Keble and Pusey did not have to go outside the Prayer Book. The Catholic Faith was all there waiting to be rediscovered and reasserted. They simply followed Andrewes and Laud in drawing out from the Prayer Book its essential Catholicism. Because their position was derived from the official book of the Church of England, the Catholic Revivalists were able to remain loyal to the Church of England in spite of the Protestantism that was reflected in the acts and teaching of its bishops. Because the members of the Church were using the Prayer Book, many of them came in time to see that the Anglo-Catholics were right in their claim to be teaching the official Faith of the Church of England.

The secret of the Prayer Book's power for Catholicism lies in two factors. First, the Prayer Book does contain reference to all the essential elements of the Catholic Faith and Sacraments. It also has retained the traditional Church year. This means that the feasts and fasts that commemorate the major doctrines and recommend the minimum discipline recur every twelve months. The prayers and Bible

passages appointed for the seasons and feasts bring home their meaning. Anyone who uses the Prayer Book as it is intended gets a full course in Catholic theology and practice every year.

Second, the Prayer Book is simple enough so that it can be used and understood by laymen and clergy alike. The clergy in England are required to say Morning and Evening Prayer daily. Many clergy elsewhere feel obligated to do so. Intelligent lay people can do the same and sometimes have. As the Prayer Book is in English, those who use it can understand its meaning. They can follow the service intelligently in Church. Many have been converted to Anglicanism by reading the Prayer Book or attending its services. It speaks for itself.

We have already noted revisions of the Prayer Book. Others will follow when we study the American Church. It would be well here, however, to summarize the steps by which the current American Book has been achieved.

1. The Prayer Book of 1549. Written by Cranmer. Essentially Catholic in structure and teaching. Accepted and used by the Church in that sense.
2. Prayer Book of 1552. Cranmer's revision. More definitely Protestant. Order of Communion Service badly disarranged. Never accepted or used by the Church.
3. Prayer Book of 1559. Elizabeth's slight revision of 1552 removing extreme Protestantism but not restoring structure of 1549. Accepted by use.
4. Prayer Book of 1662. Restoration revision improving it slightly in a Catholic direction. Official Book of the Church of England.
5. Non-jurors' Prayer Book. Excellent revision restoring much of structure of 1549. Never official except among Non-jurors.
6. Scottish Liturgy of 1764. Incorporated Non-jurors' revisions. Now in the official book of the Episcopal Church of Scotland.
7. Proposed American Prayer Book of 1785. Protestant revision of 1662. Never an official book of the whole American Church.
8. American Prayer Book of 1789. Revision of 1785 removing Protestantism and incorporating much of Scottish structure. Official book.
9. American Prayer Book of 1892. Slight revision giving more variety and flexibility. Official book.
10. American Prayer Book of 1928. Major revision improving structure of Communion Service. Present official book.

The latter is still not as good as 1549, and even 1549 has some disarrangements and omissions. The major misplacements of the 1928 book are: 1) The *Gloria in Excelsis* is at the end instead of after the

"Lord have mercy upon us." All known Western Communion Services, including 1549, place it at the beginning where it commemorates our Lord's birth in the drama of the Mass. 2) The Fraction, the breaking of the bread, is placed before the Consecration instead of after it. This disarranges the four original steps of the Eucharist¹ and has led to the omission of the dropping of a piece of the Host into the chalice with the words, "The Peace of the Lord be always with you." The latter commemorates the Resurrection in the drama of the Mass.

Another major omission is the failure to provide proper Collects, Epistles and Gospels for some important feasts and most minor ones. Also omitted are the "O Lamb of God," the "Blessed is he that cometh," the Dismissal, the proper post-communion Collects and the Introits, Graduals, Sequences, etc. To supply these deficiencies various Missals in English have been put out. They have no official standing but have been accepted by use in many parishes. One official book along these lines should be noted, however. The South African Church has recently issued a Supplement to the Prayer Book. It contains proper Collects, Epistles and Gospels for some major feasts, for each weekday in Lent and to be used for various classes of minor saints such as martyrs, bishops, virgins, etc. This gives variety, which is much needed when Communion is celebrated daily.

4. Catholicity

The Anglican Communion differs from Protestantism in that it has preserved the Apostolic Succession and its book of worship teaches the traditional Faith. It also differs from both Protestantism and Roman Catholicism in that it has kept the pre-reformation basis for authority in matters of doctrine and morals. Alone among the Churches of the West the Anglican Communion escaped the individualism which has determined the basis of authority since the sixteenth century. Protestant authority is individualistic. Doctrine is ultimately determined by the individual's interpretation of the Bible. Roman Catholic authority is individualistic. The final authority is the Pope, who claims to be infallible in himself.

Anglicanism clings to the belief that the Mind of Christ is the Mind of the whole Church. What has been taught, not by this individual or that, but at all times, in all places, by all accredited teachers, confirmed by the Bible, that and that alone is the basis of authority in Faith and morals. This makes it more difficult to find out what one

¹ See p. 48.

must believe and do. One cannot simply ask an individual for his opinion. One must study the writings of the theologians. There are some questions which cannot be answered since the Church has never expressed its Mind on them. But on all the doctrines of the Creeds and on all major points of moral law there is unanimity of agreement in all Churches that have kept the Apostolic Succession and have sincerely tried to be faithful to the Tradition. This is all that is necessary for salvation.

There is good reason to believe that the Anglican concept of authority based on the universal teaching of the Church is the authority Christ intended. It was the authority all Christians accepted before the Reformation. The Roman Church still pays lip-service to it in spite of having added Papal Infallibility. It has one obvious advantage. It safeguards against the eccentricities of individuals. Even if the individual, like the Pope, is careful to consult the opinion of a large section of the Church before rendering a decision, he is likely to be influenced by the prevailing ideas of his time and of his section of the Church. The insistence that an official doctrine must have at least the implicit consent of all ages and all places is the only protection against this.

Such a concept of authority makes it difficult to enforce uniformity. There is bound to be disagreement about details and emphasis. There is no individual to enforce the law. The Church of England felt the need for uniformity at the first and to obtain it placed its enforcement in the hands of an individual, the king. This choice was fortunate because it did not work. Even the king could not force all Englishmen to accept the Church of England. He could not even force all Anglicans to hold the same position. In time he grew tired and gave up trying. Thus Anglicanism was saved from a spiritual dictatorship. It was also saved from the sect principle—accept the official teaching or get out and form your own church. On some issues the Church of England did stand firm and those who disagreed had to get out. But on many points, even some of real importance, a wide divergence of teaching became tolerated.

As a result of this toleration, by the end of the nineteenth century the three main types of post-reformation Christianity were represented in the Anglican Communion by strong parties. The Anglo-Catholics held to the traditional Faith and Sacraments, with definite sympathies with Roman Catholicism. The Low Churchmen, descended from the desire-for-conversion root of the Reformation, expressed its urge for a subjective personal religion. The Broad Churchmen, who were de-

scendents of the Latitudinarians, represented the new-learning root of the Reformation.

Confusion inevitably has resulted from the toleration within one Communion of such diverse points of view. Clergy have been allowed to teach doctrines and to encourage practices which are contrary to the official formularies of the Church without being condemned for heresy. Crisis after crisis has arisen in the councils of the Church as one party has or another has tried to gain control and force its position on everybody. Politics have dominated Church elections. Bishops of one party have persecuted priests of another in their dioceses. Parish quarrels have been started by a rector of one party succeeding a rector of another and trying to undo his predecessor's work; or by laymen of one party opposing a rector of another. All this has unquestionably undermined the Church's teaching and discipline. As many of these rows have been aired in the newspapers, the Church has gained a reputation for quarrelsomeness and uncertainty.

Yet there are advantages. First, even this confusion is better than its only alternative, uniformity enforced by spiritual dictatorship which outlaws all but one party's position. As long as the Church's basic formularies remain Catholic, much heresy may be tolerated. For heresies arise, flourish and then tend to die out with the passing fad that nourished them. Heretics disagree with each other and cancel each other out. The Catholic Faith, on the other hand, is the same yesterday, today and forever. In the end it prevails.

Second, the final official pronouncements of the Church come usually out of the tension between the three parties. As none of the parties has yet been eliminated, a dispute goes on till a formula reasonably acceptable to all three has been found. Each of the parties is one-sided in its emphasis. Taken together they represent the three main strands of Christianity in the West. Anything they can agree upon is likely to approach closely the basic Western position.

Thirdly, the Anglican Communion can explore new ideas even when they arise in heretical circles. It can sift them, discarding their errors and incorporating their truth. Biblical Criticism is a recent example of this. Its techniques were developed in German liberal circles and were first used to eliminate the miraculous elements of Christianity. Most German critics portrayed Christ as merely a moral teacher. Broad Churchmen took over these techniques and used them to prove the same ideas that the German critics had. The first reaction of many Low Churchmen and all Anglo-Catholics was to reject the techniques because of the ideas associated with them. But the presence

of Broad Churchmen prevented the Church from hardening into Fundamentalism. The Church could not just close its eyes to Biblical Criticism. It had to refute it. In the process Anglo-Catholics found many of its techniques to be sound. They also discovered that they proved things contrary to the Catholic Faith only if you started from the premise that the Catholic Faith is untrue. Passages of the Bible were eliminated or misinterpreted by the liberal critics because, as they stood, the passages disagreed with the theological position the critic held, not because the techniques of criticism required the passages to be eliminated or misinterpreted. The result of these discoveries has been the development of a school of Biblical Criticism, pioneered by Charles Gore (1853-1932), which uses the techniques to the full and finds that they establish rather than deny the Catholic Faith.

The keynote of Anglicism, then, is inclusiveness. Within it, high church traditionalism, low church subjectivism and broad church liberalism all have their advocates. They have kept it from hardening exclusively into one of the three post-reformation schools of thought. As long as it maintains this inclusiveness, it will be a position to lead the way toward Christian unity in the West. Its inclusiveness, in spite of the constant quarrels and confusions that result from it, is its most precious heritage. For the fundamental meaning of Catholic is inclusive. Since the Anglican Communion is the most inclusive Church in the West, it can rightly claim to be the most Catholic.

See Review Outline IX. Background of the Reformation.

X. Divisions of the Church.

XI. Events of the Reformation (16th century).

XII. Events of the Reformation (17th century).

XIII. Leaders of the Modern Church.

XIV. The Church of England.

See also Chart XI. The Roots of the Reformation, p. 258.
Map. British Isles, p. 151.

CHAPTER XI

The Church in America

A. ROMAN CATHOLICISM

WHEN COLUMBUS landed in San Salvador in 1492, he claimed the lands he had discovered for the Spanish king and the Catholic Church. On subsequent expeditions, priests were sent out to convert the native population and to minister to the Europeans. The Spanish, however, did not come to the new world as colonists. They came as adventurers seeking gold and other precious items which they could take back with them to Spain. They did not try to build homes and to develop the country. They exploited it. In their mad rush for wealth, the Spaniards either wiped out or enslaved the native population. As time went on and the need for laborers grew pressing in areas where the natives were dying off, African negroes were imported as slaves to take their place.

Had the Church been in its healthiest state it would have found it difficult, working in connection with the Spanish invasion of America, to win the native population to Christianity. As it was, the Church itself was corrupted by the process. It did more to encourage than to restrain the grasping government and greedy adventurers. As a result the Church, although it nominally converted what was left of the native population, failed to make the natives real Christians. The Church tended to identify itself with their oppressors and tolerated ignorance and superstition to keep them in subjection.

There were, of course, outstanding exceptions. One of these was St. Peter Claver (1581-1654), a Jesuit, who in 1610 came out to

America to convert the Indians. When he arrived, however, he found the slave trade at its worst. He devoted the rest of his life to alleviating their sufferings, ministering to their bodies as well as their souls.

In other areas the Religious Orders made earnest efforts to convert the Indians. The Jesuits, whose missionaries were as ardent as their Court chaplains were corrupt, were doing fine work in the peninsula of Lower California when they were expelled in 1767. Their work there was placed in the hands of the Franciscans. One of the latter, Junipero Serra (1713-1784), pushed up into California itself. He established a string of missions, San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Francisco, etc., which have become the modern cities. Serra's zeal was unlimited and he did much to convert the native tribes.

Spain was not the only country working in Latin America. When the Pope drew a line of demarcation in 1493 giving new discoveries in the West to Spain and in the East to Portugal, Brazil was accidentally included on the Portuguese side. The Portuguese missions were much like those of Spain. Between them, Spain and Portugal were the first to establish the Church in the West Indies, Central America, South America, Florida, and the states between Texas and California inclusive.

France sent missionaries of the Roman Church into her American colony of Canada. The Jesuits in particular did heroic work with the Indians. They began to work with the roaming tribes in Canada. These were too unstable, however, for permanent results. The Jesuits wanted to work with more settled tribes. Unfortunately the five great tribes which made up the Iroquois, whose territory was in upper New York State, were allies of the Dutch and hostile to the French. Beyond the Iroquois to the west was a kindred tribe, the Hurons. This tribe became friendly to the French and a Jesuit mission was established among them. At first grave difficulties and hardships were encountered, but the heroic perseverance of the Jesuits finally won the Hurons to Christianity. Just as the mission was beginning to prosper, however, the Iroquois attacked the Hurons and in 1650 wiped them out.

Five of the Jesuits working with the Hurons were martyred. One was shot and thrown into his burning church. Two were killed with hatchets. Two were captured and put to horrible deaths. These were St. John Brébeuf (1593-1649) and St. Gabriel Lalemant (1610-1649). Brébeuf was not particularly strong and Lalemant was very frail. Yet they endured hours of torture. They were stripped, beaten and gashed with knives. Necklaces of red-hot hatchet heads were placed

about their necks. Belts of bark were set on fire around their waists. Brébeuf's nose and lips were cut off and Lalemant's eyes put out. Boiling water was poured over their heads in mockery of Baptism. As Brébeuf would not cry out in pain, his heart was cut out and eaten by the Indians that they might partake of his courage. Lalemant, the weaker of the two, lived for sixteen hours under his torments.

Even more remarkable was the career of another Jesuit, St. Isaac Jogues (1607-1646). As he was traveling with a second Jesuit, a lay associate and a party of Hurons to join the mission to the latter in 1642, his companions were captured by a raiding party of Mohawks, the easternmost Iroquois tribe. Jogues, who had escaped into the bushes, gave himself up so that he could minister to the Hurons in their captivity. The captives were savagely attacked by the Mohawks, stripped and made to run the gauntlet. They were then loaded with the baggage and made to carry it. On the way to the Mohawk villages, another raiding party going north met them. The captives were made to run the gauntlet of both parties. On the arrival in the Mohawk territory the captives were taken to each of the three villages. At each place the procedure was to run them through the gauntlet into the town. Then they were placed on the torture platform where they were subjected to cruelties. The other Jesuit was finally killed, but Jogues was made a slave. He escaped to the Dutch and was returned to France. As soon as he had recovered he went back to Canada. The French made a treaty with the Mohawks. Jogues and another Jesuit went as missionaries to them. Mohawk suspicions were aroused, however, and the Jesuits again subjected to tortures which ended in their deaths in 1646.

The Jesuits pushed into the mid-west. One of them Jacques Marquette (1636-1675) was in the party that discovered the Mississippi. The French Jesuits continued down the Mississippi valley and a French settlement was established in Louisiana. When Canada was conquered by the British, the Province of Quebec was allowed to remain French-speaking and Roman Catholic.

English Roman Catholics were first allowed to settle in Maryland. They were soon outnumbered by Protestants and Anglicans, however, and the Church of England was established in 1702. When the areas in the United States first evangelized by the Spanish and French Roman Catholics were penetrated by English-speaking settlers, Protestants and Anglicans became predominant in them, with the exception of a few places like New Orleans.

The nineteenth century saw much immigration of Roman Catholics

into the United States, first from Ireland and Germany, then from Italy, Poland and other Roman Catholic countries. This rapidly built up the strength of that Church in the United States so that today it is the largest Christian group in the country. At first its members were mostly of the working or servant class and it suffered much prejudice and persecution. It now includes all classes of society. Its bishops are mostly of Irish descent except in the mid-west, where the Germans predominate.

B. PROTESTANTISM

Several of the British colonies in America were founded as refuges for religious minorities. The first of these groups was the Pilgrims who settled at Plymouth, Mass., in 1620. They had fled to Holland because they would not conform to the canons of 1604 which required all clergy in England to swear to accept the Prayer Book and the Thirty-nine Articles. When they got to America they set up a congregational Church government. They were re-enforced in 1630 by the Puritans who settled in Boston. The Puritans had outwardly conformed to the Church of England in the home country and on sailing declared themselves to be members of it. Yet on reaching Massachusetts they also became Congregationalists.

Having established themselves in the new world the Puritans persecuted everyone who disagreed with them. A theocracy was set up on the model of Geneva under Calvin. The government was dominated by the pastors and all were forced to accept the Puritan religion and code of morals. A young pastor, Roger Williams (c.1604-1684), revolted against this and declared that the state had no control over a man's conscience. He was banished from the colony in 1635. He founded Providence and the colony of Rhode Island. Here religious tolerance was granted from the first. Williams was the founder of the Baptist Church in America.

As the population of Massachusetts grew it sent out new groups which founded colonies in New Hampshire, Maine and Connecticut. These were also Congregationalists.

The Quakers first bought out the English proprietors of New Jersey, and then in 1681 William Penn (1644-1718), a Quaker, was granted Pennsylvania by King Charles II. To this was added Delaware which had been taken from the Swedes. The Quakers established Philadelphia. New Jersey became a separate colony in 1702. In Pennsylvania the Quakers were the dominant religious group, but both there and in Delaware religious toleration was granted.

Two Protestant groups which were not English founded colonies in the new world. Henry Hudson, an Englishman sailing for the Dutch, discovered the river that bears his name in 1609. Five years later the Dutch began to establish a colony called New Netherlands. Its religion was Dutch Reformed (Calvinist). In 1664 it was captured by the English and became a proprietary colony of James II, who was then Duke of York.

The Swedes settled along the Delaware river. They were Lutherans. In 1655 they were conquered by the Dutch from New Netherlands and passed with that colony under the control of the English in 1664.

In the eighteenth century, Protestantism grew rapidly in the colonies. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Huguenots began to come over in large numbers. Although they were Calvinists, they usually became Anglicans on reaching the colonies. Other Protestant groups did not. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians settled in western Pennsylvania and pushed down into western Virginia. Germans also settled in western Pennsylvania, some of them members of the radical sects like Mennonites and Moravians.

George Whitefield's visits to America, as we have already seen, produced a great awakening of religious zeal. Although Whitefield was originally associated with Wesley, it was the Baptists who gained most by his preaching. Methodist preachers were winning converts, however, and their following grew rapidly in the colonies. In spite of the establishment of the Church of England in Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, the Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists had large numbers in these colonies among those who were not plantation owners. The Baptists and Methodists won most of the negroes. The calamities that fell on the Church of England as a result of the Revolution and in the South after the Civil War left the Protestants in almost complete control of this area.

As the West opened up, most of its early settlers were Protestants—Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Campbellites. Immigration from Germany and the Scandinavian countries filled the mid-west farm belt. They made the Lutheran Church one of the largest in the United States. Baptist and Methodist circuit riders won many converts in rural areas.

In New England the rigidity of the Congregational Church turned many against it. The Unitarians were an intellectual reaction against Calvinist theology. The Universalists, in protest against the doctrine of predestination to damnation, went to the opposite extreme and asserted that everyone would be saved. These three groups have never

had much of a following out of New England and seem to be losing ground rapidly in recent years.

The Civil War split the big Protestant Churches, since in the North some of their clergy were among the strongest advocates of the abolition of slavery. Except for the Methodists who have recently reunited, the separate organization of the Protestant Churches in the North and South has persisted. The trend of population from country to city has changed the Baptists and Methodists, who controlled the rural areas, into wealthy urban churches. Their places in the country have been taken by the Campbellites, who are now moving into the cities, and by the various Pentecostal sects.

America has proved a fertile field for the minor Protestant sects. While the West was being opened up groups that had evolved some new theory of Christian society would go off into the wilderness to found a utopia. They usually broke up in short order. An exception were the Mormons who established a lasting community in Utah, but they have been forced to abandon polygamy. The ecstatic sects that go in for emotional excitement in their services—the Holy Rollers, the Adventists, the Church of God, the Jehovah Witnesses, etc.—have always been popular in the country districts. They have not been strong in organization, but they sweep through an area periodically and round up the population.

The Revivalists have always been popular. Protestant churches in cities have a visiting evangelist put on a revival at frequent intervals. Some revivalists, like Billy Sunday, have built up a large following. In recent years there has been a tendency for successful revivalists to settle down and start a church of their own, as Aimée MacPherson did with the Four-Square Gospel in Hollywood. A revivalist movement that started in the Church of England but had its largest following among Protestants was the Oxford Groups Movement or Buchmanites, who flourished before World War II. Rescue mission work with down and outs has been carried on by the Salvation Army and similar groups.

The Quakers have continued a small yet important group centering around Philadelphia with recent growth on the West Coast. Christian Science, which started in Boston, has fluctuated in its appeal. It is chiefly a city Church. Various oriental religions, or synthetic American imitations of them, have had their esoteric following.

Mention should be made of non-church organizations which have taken over activities that were formerly handled by the Church. These include the organized charities like the Red Cross. There are fraternal organizations such as the Masons, which supply for Protestants an

outlet for their desire for ceremonial and ritual, as well as holding a moral ideal before their members and providing an opportunity for fellowship and good works. Also supplying the need for fellowship and encouraging welfare enterprises are the civic clubs like Rotary and Kiwanis.

C. THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

1. Anglican Settlements

Some of the British colonies in what was to be the United States were founded, not by religious groups, but as trading ventures. As such they were under the British government from the start and the Church of England tended to become established in them as it was at home. This meant that the salaries of the clergy were paid by taxes and the Church supported by the government. Toleration of other Churches was forced upon these colonies at an early date, however, by the large Protestant element in the population which could not be dislodged.

The oldest of these is Virginia, the first successful British colony. Robert Hunt, a priest of the Church of England, accompanied the settlers to Jamestown and celebrated Holy Communion the day after they landed in 1607. Conformity to the Church of England and attendance at its services were required by the "Dale's laws" in 1611 with the most amazing penalties attached to disobedience. They were never enforced, of course. In 1619 at the first colonial assembly, the Church was established and provision for its support made.

Maryland, as we have noted, started as a refuge for Roman Catholics. Toleration of all religious groups was established from the beginning. Soon the Roman Catholics were in the minority and they lost even their rights after James II was driven from the throne in 1688. In 1692 the first act for establishing the Church of England was passed by the colonial assembly, though it was not until 1702 that the act was approved by the English government.

In South Carolina, which was settled in 1670, the assembly voted a salary for a Church of England rector of Charleston in 1698. The first effort to establish the Church was made in 1704 and it was finally accomplished in 1706.

The settlement of North Carolina was very haphazard. The first missionary in the colony was George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, so they for a while predominated. Probably Protestants were always in the majority in the colony. But the Anglicans became the land-owners and supporters of the government. Several times during the

eighteenth century when they were in control of the assembly, they passed laws establishing the Church, but they were not ratified in England until 1765. The clergy had been receiving partial support from taxes before then, however.

Georgia was the last of the colonies to be founded, being first settled in 1732. The Church was present from the start with state support in Savannah. It was established in 1758 but its income outside Savannah was very meager.

In these five colonies, however—Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina and Georgia—the establishment did work to some extent. A few of the parishes supplied their clergy with a comfortable living. In many of the others it was necessary to supplement the local salary with S.P.G. funds.

When New York was first taken from the Dutch in 1664, no provision was made for the Church of England except to arrange for services according to the Prayer Book to be conducted for the English officials stationed in the colony. In 1693, however, the Church was established by an act that required that a "sufficient Protestant minister" be provided in certain places. There was question as to the meaning of the phrase. Legally it meant a clergyman of the Church of England, but there may have been hope that it would be interpreted to permit any Protestant minister to function with state support. In some places the attempt was made so to interpret it, but in the end the Church won out. The actual income received from the state, however, was small, except in the parishes like Trinity, New York City, which received part of Queen Anne's Bounty. Most of the clergy in the colony had to receive help from the S.P.G., and were therefore under its supervision.

The Church in New York grew rapidly because the Dutch Calvinists and the Huguenots, who settled there in large numbers, felt themselves close to it. Many of them were willing to accept its ministers and in the end both groups were largely absorbed by the Church. The only serious opposition came from the Presbyterians. Other religious groups were tolerated.

In Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware the Church was tolerated but not supported by the state. Most of the clergy therefore had to be supplied by the S.P.G. By the end of the colonial period some of the stronger parishes like Christ Church, Philadelphia, were in a position to support themselves. The Church was able to absorb many of the Swedish Lutherans and some of the churches they had built for their worship passed into the hands of the Church of England.

The first settlers in Boston, New Hampshire and Maine were members of the Church of England. With the arrival of the Puritans in 1630 and the subsequent growth of the Massachusetts colony, they were swamped. At first the Puritans in Massachusetts were determined to prevent the Church of England from functioning in the colony, but when it became a royal province in 1686, the governor insisted on services from the Prayer Book being provided. In 1688 King's Chapel was built. It was nearly destroyed in the persecution of the Church that followed James II's loss of the throne, but it survived. The Congregational Church was the established Church of the colony and for a while some Anglicans were forced to support it with their taxes. In 1735 an act was passed which arranged that the taxes collected from Anglicans should go to the support of their own parishes. Most of the clergy, however, needed additional funds from the S.P.G.

In New Hampshire the Church grew slowly, although it had the vigorous support of the governor. The Church was originally estab-

CHART XII. THE CHURCH IN THE COLONIES

<i>Colony</i>	<i>Original Dominant Religion</i>	<i>Status of Church of England</i>
New Hampshire	Congregationalist	Resisted
Massachusetts	Congregationalist	Resisted. Members' taxes paid to parish, 1735
Rhode Island	Baptist	Tolerated
Connecticut	Congregationalist	Resisted. Members' taxes paid to parish, 1727
New York	Dutch Reformed	Established 1693
New Jersey	Swedish Lutheran	Tolerated
Pennsylvania	Quaker	Tolerated
Delaware	Swedish Lutheran	Tolerated
Maryland	Roman Catholic	Tolerated Established 1702*
Virginia	Anglican	Established 1619
North Carolina	Anglican (?)	Established 1765*
South Carolina	Anglican	Established 1706*
Georgia	Anglican	Established 1758

* The date given is when the act of establishment was ratified in England. In these colonies acts had been passed earlier, but not ratified.

lished in Maine, but this was wiped out when the colony became part of Massachusetts. As late as 1768 Anglicans were being taxed for the support of the Congregational Church.

Connecticut never became a royal province. Yet the growth of the Church there was more rapid than in any other New England colony. This is due partly to the migration of Anglicans into the colony, partly to its receiving the largest share of S.P.G. aid and partly to its winning exceptional converts. Chief among the latter were the president of Yale College and three other Congregational ministers who broke with their Church in 1722. All but one, who died in England seeking ordination, returned to the colonies as priests of the Church. They were the first of a steady stream of converts that gave the Church in the colonies some of its best ministers. In 1727 Connecticut passed an act that arranged for the taxes collected from Anglicans to be used for the support of their parishes. This was the model for the law passed later in Massachusetts.

Rhode Island was founded, as we have seen, by Roger Williams, who believed in complete separation of Church and state. All religions were tolerated, including the Church of England. The vast majority of the population were Baptists and Quakers, and the Church received no income from taxes. Nevertheless it grew slowly, depending on the S.P.G. for most of the support of its ministers.

When the British took Canada from the French, the Church of England began to penetrate that area. The French Roman Catholics persisted in the Province of Quebec, but the British settled along the coast and in the West. The first Canadian bishop was Charles Inglis, consecrated in 1787 for the Diocese of Nova Scotia. The population of that Province had grown rapidly because many Tories had fled there from the American Colonies during the Revolution. The Anglican Diocese of Quebec was founded in 1793 and the Dioceses of Toronto and of Newfoundland in 1839. During the 1860's the Church of England in Canada freed itself from state control and has become autonomous. The Church of England also followed the British into the Caribbean area and gradually the various dioceses that compose the autonomous Province of the West Indies were founded. All except Barbados are now completely free from state control.

2. The Colonial Church

The major handicap to the growth of the Church in the colonies was that it lacked bishops. This imposed two major hardships on the Church.

First, it had inadequate and inferior clergy. Young men in the colonies who desired to enter the ministry of the Church had to go to England to be ordained. This was a long and expensive journey, which many could not afford. Hence the Church was deprived of some who, because of their roots in colonial life, would have been able to serve it best. The majority of the clergy of the Colonial Church had to come from England. Those who offered their services to the S.P.G. through genuine missionary zeal made good priests if they were able to adjust themselves to conditions in the colonies. But many who desired to come to the colonies, especially those who volunteered for the state-supported parishes in the South, were clergymen who had failed in England. Having found it impossible to succeed in the home country, they were willing to escape to the colonies in the hope of finding a comfortable living. Some of the clergy of this class brought scandal to the Church and those who avoided that were likely to be unsatisfactory ministers.

Second, the supervision of the clergy, which is normally in the hands of the bishop, could not be efficiently provided. The need for it was the more imperative because of the low standard of many of the priests. The Colonial Church was under the Bishop of London. He was too far away to supervise properly. He had to depend on reports that were frequently biased by selfish interests. To overcome these difficulties, the Bishop of London in 1689 appointed priests in each of the colonies to act as Commissaries. In colonies where the Church was not established the appointment was hardly more than honorary. Where the Church was established, more was sometimes attempted.

Two Commissaries deserve notice. Thomas Bray in Maryland succeeded in getting the Church established there. His stay was brief but on his return to England he was chiefly responsible for the foundation of the S.P.G. That Society not only supported the Colonial Church financially; it chose its missionaries with care and exercised real supervision and control over them. In the northern and middle colonies, where the S.P.G. was most active, the quality of the clergy was good.

William Blair, Commissary in Virginia 1689-1743, was the most successful. He defended the clergy's rights against the state and did what he could to raise standards. He founded the College of William and Mary. Because of the tradition established by him and Bray, the Commissaries in Virginia and Maryland were the most effective, but at best they accomplished little. The Commissaries in the three southern colonies did practically nothing. In the middle of the eighteenth cen-

ture the Bishop of London declared, on the basis of a technicality, that he had no jurisdiction over the Colonial Church. The real reason he refused to exercise it was because he knew it was not working and wanted to force the government to send bishops to the colonies. He allowed the Commissaries already in office to continue to function, but appointed no new ones.

There was continual agitation among Churchmen for bishops in the colonies. During the reign of Queen Anne, when the High Church Tories were in power, they were almost obtained; but her death prevented it. The reason they were never provided was that the majority of the colonists did not want them. They were not members of the Church and had migrated to America to escape from the bishops of England. In England bishops were nobles and officers of the state as well as of the Church. As these were the only bishops known to Englishmen, it was impossible for the colonists to conceive of a bishop who would govern the Church without being a state official. They therefore opposed the appointment of bishops. The Latitudinarians who were in control of the Church in England did not feel bishops to be important enough to force the issue over colonial opposition. Hence the Colonial Church had no bishops.

At the time of the Revolution the Church in the various colonies was in different states of health. It was strongest in Connecticut, where it had more support from the S.P.G. than in any other colony and good priests were most numerous. Many of them were converts or the sons of converts from the prevailing Congregationalism who had entered the Church because they were convinced of the necessity of episcopal Succession. This led them to accept the High Church tradition of Andrewes and Laud.

The Church was also strong in New York. Having absorbed many of the Huguenots and Dutch it was numerically large. It had good priests, many of the Connecticut tradition. Trinity Church and other parishes had large land grants from Queen Anne's Bounty and were better off financially than most.

In Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware the Church had prospered and attained some measure of self-support. The S.P.G. had supplied good missionaries. Virginia and Maryland were the colonies with established Churches where the salaries were highest and where the Commissaries had functioned best. They had been able to get reasonably good clergy and to maintain some measure of discipline.

The Church in Massachusetts and Rhode Island had grown steadily and healthily. It was not destined, however, to play a large part in the

reconstruction of the Church after the Revolution. In New Hampshire and Maine, the latter being part of Massachusetts, the Church was very small.

In the three southern colonies, North and South Carolina and Georgia, the Church was weak. There were good parishes in Charleston and Savannah, but not much elsewhere.

When the Revolution started, most of the clergy in the North were Tories. Some of them were missionaries from England, others were High Churchmen with their doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. Some were expelled for refusing to omit the prayer for the king, some fled to Canada or to join the British Army. Samuel Seabury (1729-1796) served in it as a chaplain. The most important exception to the prevailing Toryism of the clergy of New York and New England was Samuel Provoost (1742-1815), who espoused the American cause during the war and was elected rector of Trinity Church, New York, at its close.

In New Jersey all the clergy but one closed their churches. A few, however, remained at their posts and reopened them when the war was over. The clergy of Pennsylvania were Tories with two main exceptions. William White (1748-1836) became chaplain of the Continental Congress and rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. William Smith sided with the colonists but he was removed from the provostship of the College of Philadelphia. He went to Maryland, where he took a parish.

In the South more of the clergy were on the American side, though not a majority except in South Carolina. In Maryland and Virginia, however, most of the clergy seem to have been willing to acquiesce in the Revolution.

The laymen of the Church were more definitely on the colonial side than the clergy. Some of the leaders of the Revolution, including George Washington, were among its members.

3. Reconstruction

The Church was in a desperate condition after the war. Having been the Church of England, it shared in the antagonism against all things English. It had completely lost its financial support. The S.P.G. withdrew its funds and the Church was disestablished in the colonies where it had received state support. This loss of salary had caused many of the clergy to leave. Some, however, including Samuel Seabury and others who were Tories during the war, elected to remain at their posts.

The greatest difficulty was the old one, lack of bishops. This now became more pressing than ever because of the shortage of clergy. There was no hope of getting any more from England and some question whether the English bishops would ordain Americans if they went to England. In any case the Church had to have an independent existence. That meant it had to provide its own clergy.

It also needed a new name. William Smith and others in Maryland decided on the Protestant Episcopal Church. This was finally adopted universally. The only alternative name suggested was "Reformed Episcopal" and, as Maryland had already started to use the other, it was accepted. Protestant at the time simply meant non-Roman.

William White became the natural leader of the Church in the Middle states. He had a position of prominence because of his chaplaincy to the Continental Congress and because he was rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. He also, alone among the clergy who endorsed the Revolution, had remained on as friendly terms as possible with his Tory brethren. In 1782 he published a proposal for dealing with the pressing need for new priests. At that date, the war was over and the colonies independent, but the efforts to make peace with England had failed. It looked as if there might be a long period during which England and America would not, as it were, be on speaking terms. While it lasted, there would be no possibility of getting bishops consecrated in England. White took the position that the Church wanted bishops and should get them as soon as possible. But until it was possible, ordination by priests was permissible and necessary.

As peace was concluded the next year, it was never necessary to act on White's proposal. But it had the effect of stimulating the Connecticut clergy to action. They believed bishops to be absolutely essential for the transmission of Apostolic Succession. They met shortly after the peace with England was signed in 1783 and elected either Jeremiah Leaming or Samuel Seabury bishop, whichever would accept. Leaming refused, but Seabury accepted and went to England for consecration. As Seabury had no authorization from the State of Connecticut, the English Archbishops did not believe they, as officials of the English state, could consecrate him bishop of an independent country. They therefore refused. Seabury then went to Scotland, where he was consecrated in 1784 by Bishops Kilgour, Petrie and Skinner of the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

This Church received its Orders from the English Church when Charles II imposed bishops on the Church of Scotland. The state

Church of Scotland had dropped its bishops after James II fled. But the bishops had carried on their succession in an independent Episcopal Church. Because of their association with the Non-jurors, they were considered schismatic by the English Church. Free from state control they were able and willing to consecrate Seabury. They asked him in return to maintain in the American Church the doctrine and discipline of the High Church tradition and to incorporate in its Prayer Book the revisions which the Scottish Church had derived from the Non-jurors.

Meanwhile the middle states were holding a series of preliminary meetings. The last of them met in New York in 1784. Besides the representation from the middle states, clergy from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Virginia participated. It was decided to hold a convention in Philadelphia the next year. At this first preliminary convention South Carolina was also represented, but the New England states were not. Connecticut would not participate since no provision had been made for its bishop. Massachusetts and Rhode Island gave the excuse of distance, but they were waiting to see what would happen to Connecticut.

The Convention of 1785 set up a committee to draw up a constitution and to revise the Prayer Book along lines it laid down. It was also decided to petition the Archbishops to consecrate bishops for the American Church. The constitution, as it was finally drawn up, made no provision for a House of Bishops. The revision of the Prayer Book was distinctly Protestant. The Nicene and Athanasian Creeds were omitted and references to the rebirth effected by Baptism were dropped.

The preliminary convention met twice in 1786. At the first meeting an attempt to declare Seabury's consecration invalid was headed off. The second meeting was held after the answer from the Archbishops had been received. They objected to the Protestantism of the proposed Prayer Book but said they had authority from Parliament to consecrate bishops for America. The Nicene Creed was restored to the Prayer Book as a partial answer to the Archbishops' objections. Three bishops who had been elected by their dioceses were approved: White of Pennsylvania, Provoost of New York and Griffith of Virginia. William Smith, who had been elected to Maryland, was not approved. Griffith could not get funds or approval from his diocese, so he did not go to England. White and Provoost did and were consecrated by the two Archbishops and two other bishops in 1787.

There were now three bishops in America, enough to carry on the

Succession. But one of them was Provoost, the ardent patriot, who violently disliked the Tory Seabury. Provoost professed doubts as to the validity of Seabury's consecration and refused to participate in a consecration with him until there were three bishops of the English Succession. Finally in 1789 the First General Convention met. There were two meetings. At the first, New England was not represented. The Convention was eager, however, to unite the Church. Provoost fortunately was prevented from attending by an attack of gout. The first act of the Convention was to declare unanimously that Seabury's consecration was valid. It amended the constitution in order to set up an independent House of Bishops. The Convention then adjourned while its proceedings were communicated to Seabury and he was urged to attend.

At the second meeting of the First General Convention, Seabury and delegates from Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire were present. Seabury and White formed the first House of Bishops, Provoost still being absent. The Prayer Book was revised, removing the more marked Protestantisms and incorporating material from the Scottish Liturgy of 1764. This became the First American Prayer Book of 1789. Laymen were still given an important share in the deliberations of the Church in spite of Seabury's objection, and the Athanasian Creed was not put in the Prayer Book. Seabury was at first disappointed by the action of the Convention, but he finally accepted it.

Griffith's death removed the bishop-elect of Virginia. James Madison (1749-1812) was elected bishop. As Madison had been the one chiefly responsible for preventing Griffith from going to England, there was no opposition to his going. He was consecrated in 1790 by the Archbishop of Canterbury and two other bishops. On his return there were three bishops of the English Succession. This answered Provoost's objection. All four American bishops joined in consecrating Thomas John Claggett as Bishop of Maryland in 1792. South Carolina got its first bishop in 1795 and Massachusetts in 1797.

Thus in less than fifteen years after the peace with England was signed, the American Church was organized as an autonomous branch of the Catholic Church with a revised Prayer Book and an established episcopal Succession.

4. Expansion

At first the bishops of the Church were rather inactive. One reason for this was that they were rectors of large parishes which absorbed their energies. Another was that bishops were not welcome in some

parts of the Church and their authority was resisted. Seabury and his successor Jarvis in Connecticut were the most energetic of the bishops. White confined his activities to the Philadelphia area. Provoost did little outside of New York City. He retired because of ill health and Benjamin Moore took over the work of the diocese as assistant in 1801. Under Moore the work began slowly to expand. Bishop Bass of Massachusetts performed a few ordinations. After his death, and that of his successor in 1804, the diocese remained vacant till 1811. Claggett was prevented by illness from doing much work in Maryland. Madison was president of William and Mary and confined his attention to the college. Smith in South Carolina did practically nothing at all.

The Church was at so low an ebb in 1811 that it was difficult to get three bishops together for the consecration of John Henry Hobart (1775-1830) as assistant in New York, and of Alexander Viets Griswold (1766-1843) for the Eastern Diocese, which was made up of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine. None of these dioceses was strong enough to have a bishop of its own. Provoost came out of retirement to join with White and Jarvis in consecrating the two bishops. This was the turn in the tide. Both new bishops were vigorous personalities and became leaders of the two schools of Churchmanship that began to flourish at that time: Hobart the High Churchman and Griswold the Evangelical. We shall consider these in the next section.

Hobart, in spite of being rector of Trinity Church as well as bishop after 1816, was tireless in his efforts to expand the diocese. It grew so rapidly under his care that eight years after his death it was divided and the Diocese of Western New York established. Likewise Griswold was so successful in reviving the Church in his area that Vermont already had its own bishop in 1832, and the other dioceses under his jurisdiction refrained from electing bishops only because they did not want to lose his ministrations. Shortly after his death they all obtained their own bishops.

Stimulated by the vigorous example of Hobart and Griswold, the Church elsewhere woke up. White made longer and longer visitations in Pennsylvania, finally in 1826 reaching Pittsburgh. The next year Henry Onderdonk was made his assistant and carried on the work in the outlying areas. Richard Moore, who became second Bishop of Virginia in 1814, brought that diocese to life. South Carolina and Maryland began to recover about the same time and New Jersey got its first bishop. North Carolina revived more slowly, but it got a

bishop in 1823. Georgia and Delaware were the last of the original states to obtain bishops, in 1841.

The important matter of training clergy was receiving attention. A General Theological Seminary was decided upon in 1817 and began functioning in 1819 at New York. Although Hobart was on the committee that formed it, he preferred a diocesan seminary. He made it so difficult for the General Seminary that it moved to New Haven in 1820. Hobart then started a diocesan seminary. A large legacy to the General Seminary, if it was located in New York, forced its return to that city and its merger with Hobart's diocesan venture. As this gave Hobart control over it, he became its champion and it began to reflect his High Churchmanship. In Virginia the efforts of the Evangelicals led to opening of the seminary there in 1824.

The Church was not content with reviving the established dioceses. The nineteenth century saw the great movement of the opening of the West, and the Church moved with it. One of the important early pioneers in this field was Philander Chase (1775-1852). He went to Ohio, of which diocese he was made bishop in 1819. There he founded Kenyon College in 1824 to train men for the ministry. Chase was a stormy and dictatorial character. His troubles with his diocese led to his resignation in 1831. He pushed further west and founded the Diocese of Illinois in 1835.

Under the leadership of Griswold, the Church formed a Missionary Society at General Convention in 1820. It began sending missionaries into the West. The Church in Kentucky had grown to the point where it could obtain a bishop, Benjamin Smith, in 1832, and James Harvey Otey was consecrated first Bishop of Tennessee in 1834. The Missionary Society was reorganized in 1835 and provision made for missionary bishops. They are elected by the House of Bishops and their salaries paid by the Missionary Society. The plan of sending bishops early into the mission field proved to be wise. Jackson Kemper (1789-1870), who was consecrated first missionary bishop in 1835 and assigned to the mid-west area, lived to see several dioceses formed out of his territory. Another great missionary bishop was Joseph Talbot, consecrated in 1860 as Bishop of the Northwest. His territory was so huge that he called himself "Bishop of All Outdoors."

Foreign missions were also started. Work was done in Greece in the 1830's. A priest was sent to Liberia in 1836. China received missionaries the same year. In 1844 William Boone was consecrated bishop for China. Another great bishop in China was Samuel Schereschewsky (1831-1906), who translated the Bible into Chinese.

The Civil War was a blow to the Church, as it was to the country. During the hostilities the Church in the North and South had to function independently. The northern Church refused to recognize the separation, and the names of the absent southern bishops were called in the roll call of the General Convention in 1862. The southern bishops did little more than organize an independent Church, partly because of the difficulty of travel in the war-torn South. They did, however, consecrate Richard Wilmer Bishop of Alabama in 1862. One southern bishop might have made reunion difficult after the war. He was Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana, who was a West Point graduate. He was persuaded by the shortage of officers in the Confederate Army to serve as a general. His death in 1864 prevented the question of his reinstatement from arising.

The Convention of 1865 was a crucial time. The southern bishops were uncertain what kind of a reception they would get. Two of them, however, Bishop Atkinson of North Carolina and Bishop Lay of the Southwest, attended the Convention. They were seated in the House of Bishops without any question being raised. The Convention accepted Bishop Wilmer's consecration and confirmed his position as Bishop of Alabama. Deputies from North Carolina, Texas and Tennessee were present and seated in the House of Deputies. Some fire-eating northerners in the lower house tried to make trouble, but they were stopped. All went so well that no permanent breach occurred in the Church, and at the next Convention the South was fully represented. The Episcopal Church was the only major non-Roman body that was not split by the Civil War.

In the period before the Civil War the Church was growing proportionately more rapidly than the population of the country. After the Civil War, although it continued to grow, the ratio to the population dropped. This was due in part to the distress of the Church in the South after the war. Not only were its buildings destroyed, but the plantation owners, its chief supporters, were impoverished. A more telling reason, however, was that the growth of population in the latter part of the nineteenth century was caused by vast numbers of immigrants. They came here as members of some other Church. Their descendants have turned to the Episcopal Church in increasing numbers, however, and recently the Church is showing signs of rapid growth.

5. Churchmanship

The Churchmanship of White and his associates in the Middle States, who were chiefly responsible for holding the Church together

in the reorganization period, is best described as middle-of-the-road. They held the balance between the High Churchmanship of Seabury and the Evangelicalism that was dominant in the South.

The two bishops consecrated in 1811, Hobart and Griswold, provided leadership for the two parties. Hobart, a High Churchman, was an excellent theologian. His first published works were two devotional manuals, *A Companion for the Altar* and *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts*. The latter, which contained a strong statement of the Church's claims, provoked a controversy with the Presbyterians in which Hobart further developed his defense of the episcopate. This occurred before his consecration. As bishop he delivered a series of charges to his clergy which emphasized his theological teaching. In many ways he anticipated the position which the Tractarians in England were to take shortly after his death.

Griswold and the Evangelicals were more concerned with conversion and personal piety of an emotional type. They felt a deep kinship with Protestants and were eager to co-operate with them. The Evangelicals built up a following in Massachusetts and, through Bishop Moore and his successor William Meade, in Virginia.

The work of Bishop Hobart having prepared the way, the Tractarian movement found disciples in America. General Seminary in New York became its first headquarters. Three of its students were so inspired by it that in 1841 they established a semi-monastic missionary center at Nashotah, Wisconsin. Its monastic character did not last, however. It turned into a Seminary where Anglo-Catholicism is taught. This Seminary has held the Wisconsin dioceses to that type of Churchmanship.

The attack on the Tractarian movement started in America in 1843 with an attack on one of the professors at General Seminary. This was followed by the suspension of Bishop Henry Onderdonk of Pennsylvania for drunkenness. He admitted having started using spirituous liquor on the advice of his physician but claimed to have stopped when he saw its effect. He was a sympathizer with the Tractarians and was shown no mercy. His brother Benjamin Onderdonk, Bishop of New York, was tried on immoral charges, which seem to have had no real foundation, and suspended in 1845. The third bishop to be attacked for his Tractarian sympathies was George Washington Doane of New Jersey. He was tried for misappropriation of funds. He had certainly made a mess of his diocesan finances, but he was clearly innocent of any criminal intent. Popular feeling had by then turned against persecuting bishops, so proceedings against him were dropped.

Another attempt to establish the Religious Life for men was made at Valle Crucis, N. C., in 1845 under the inspiration of Bishop Ives of North Carolina. It did not get very far, aroused much hostility and was disbanded in 1849. Bishop Ives joined the Roman Church in 1852. Meanwhile the Anglo-Catholic parish of the Advent was founded in Boston in 1844. Its ceremonial and ritual were very mild and would be found in the most evangelical parishes today, but the Bishop of Massachusetts refused to visit the parish for years until forced to do so by the General Convention.

The Civil War distracted attention from the ritual question, but the attack on it was revived at the General Convention of 1865. A committee was appointed by the House of Bishops to curb ritualism. In 1871 this committee proposed a canon which would have prohibited by name crosses, crucifixes, lights, bowing and genuflecting, and almost all signs of reverence or adornments of worship. All action against ritual was side-tracked or tabled at that convention, however.

This was a bitter disappointment to the extreme Evangelicals. Under the leadership of George Cummins, assistant bishop in Kentucky, many of them withdrew from the Church. They founded the Reformed Episcopal Church and took as their Prayer Book the proposed book of 1785. Their departure alarmed the Church, and the Convention of 1874 determined so to curb ritualism that no more Evangelicals would leave. A canon forbidding ritual practices that implied a doctrine contrary to the teaching of the Church was proposed. In spite of a brilliant speech against the canon by James DeKoven, a priest delegate from Wisconsin, who asked for a broad tolerance, the canon was passed. But there was a reaction of feeling shortly afterwards and the more tolerant attitude DeKoven asked for prevailed. DeKoven himself failed to get the approval of the standing committees whenever he was elected bishop, but other ritualists were accepted as bishops before the century was out.

Meanwhile the Catholic Revival was quietly bearing fruit in a deeper devotional life based on frequent and more reverent use of the Sacraments and on the teaching of the traditional Faith. Parishes fought heroically, often subjected to real persecution, to maintain their right to use ceremonial to illustrate the teaching and to adorn their worship. Many mistakes were made on both sides. In the end the Anglo-Catholics won their battle. The simpler and more fundamental ceremonial usages, such as altar crosses, candles, vested choirs, early Eucharists, etc., have been adopted by the whole Church. Vestments, crucifixes and sung Masses are almost universally tolerated.

Only to the most advanced ritual is there any serious objection, and that only in certain dioceses.

The Religious Life has become established in the Episcopal Church. Priests of the Society of St. John the Evangelist started working over here shortly after the Society was founded in England. English Orders for women have American Houses. The first Order for women to be founded in the American Church was the Community of St. Mary, 1865. The Order of the Holy Cross was the first Order for men, founded 1884.

A new party appeared in the Church during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, known as the Broad Churchmen or Liberals. They are spiritual descendants of the Latitudinarians, but the advent of Biblical Criticism gave them a firmer intellectual basis and they developed a vigorous interest in applying Christianity to the removal of social evils, which their dull, respectable predecessors had lacked. The most famous pioneers of this position were: Phillips Brooks (1835-1893), one of the greatest preachers of the Episcopal Church, who became rector of Trinity Church, Boston in 1869 and Bishop of Massachusetts, 1891; Henry Codman Potter (1835-1908), who developed the social work at Grace Church, New York City, and, on becoming Bishop of New York in 1887, pushed the social program on a diocesan basis; and William Reed Huntington, Potter's successor at Grace Church, who carried on the social program there, and was responsible for the foundation of the Order of Deaconesses and the 1892 revision of the Prayer Book.

The pioneer Liberals were conservative in theology, holding the Church's doctrine on the whole, but objecting to its precise definition. Their successors, however, began to question creedal doctrines. An effort was made to stamp out this movement by a series of heresy trials. Although there were some convictions, this method was soon seen to be doing more harm than good in the unfortunate publicity it received and was abandoned.

The Evangelicals and Liberals hold fundamentally opposed positions. The Evangelicals spring from the desire-for-conversion root of the Reformation. In order to preach conversion effectively they must appeal to the emotions on the basis of clear-cut belief that unless one is converted one is damned. The Liberals on the other hand spring from the new-learning root, are vague about doctrine, want no clear-cut distinctions and appeal strictly to the intellect. There were, however, superficial agreements between the Evangelicals and Liberals. Both disliked ritual, stressed preaching more than Sacraments, felt

strong sympathy with the Protestants and emphasized the social implications of the Gospel. Because of these similarities, the better-organized Liberals were able to absorb the Evangelicals, largely through their control of the seminaries, and now call themselves the Liberal Evangelicals. This resulted in the elimination of true Evangelicalism until it was revived by the Buchmanites. The latter group, however, had so little real contact with the Episcopal Church that it can hardly be considered a party within it.

Although the party lines between the Anglo-Catholics and Liberal Evangelicals are as strong as ever, the issues between them have become confused. Many Anglo-Catholics have accepted Biblical Criticism though they link it to the Catholic Faith. A growing school of High Churchmen is eager to work out the social implications of Christianity, especially of the sacramental life. On the other hand, many Liberals have become tolerant of ritual and Catholic practices, and some actually advocate their use. There is a middle party, called the Liberal Catholics, who hold to the Church's life and teaching and yet are prepared to tolerate the questioning of doctrines which have always been considered a necessary part of the Faith. The fundamental issue between the two main parties is now in regard to Christian Unity. The Liberals feel that union with the Protestants is so important that major aspects of the Church's doctrine and discipline can be sacrificed to achieve it. Anglo-Catholics, no less eager for unity, believe that the comprehensive Anglican position alone can serve as its basis and resist the abandonment of Catholic Faith and Sacraments.

Between the Anglo-Catholics and the Liberal Evangelicals stands the majority of the Church: the middle-of-the-road group which is committed to neither party. On minor matters they tend to vote with the Liberals, which gives the latter a stronger position in the Church's councils than their numbers warrant. But so far, when a question of vital doctrine or practice has arisen, the middle-of-the-road group has sided with the Anglo-Catholics to preserve the Church's comprehensive, and therefore Catholic, position.

See Review Outline XIII. Leaders of the Modern Church.

XIV. The Church of England.

CHAPTER XII

The Dawn of a New Age

THE FUNDAMENTAL change in culture that is taking place is now so widely recognized that it hardly needs to be proved. Individualism, which until recently has dominated our civilization, is giving way to a renewed emphasis on society. Nationalism, though still strong, is seen to be an inadequate solution to international problems. Organized labor is wresting political control from the Middle Class. The prevailing ideal is no longer the rugged individual, the self-made man, dominating society by the force of his character. Rather it is a society so organized as to attain the maximum efficiency and to provide all its members with adequate living conditions.

The field of politics gives the clearest evidence of this trend. The appeal of Communism is directly along these lines, but Communism as it has been worked out in Russia is actually a left-over from the old political set-up. For Russia is a dictatorship, not of the working class as it claims, but of a bureaucratic clique. This is a highly individualistic form of government. The Labor Party in England is a better example of the socialistic trend. In America, socialism so-called is still considered a subversive movement. Yet in practice socialism has become an accepted part of American life. Labor unions are here to stay and no party even suggests more than minor limitations on their bargaining rights. Control of capital and speculation, graded income tax, social security, minimum wage and even, when necessary, price control are no longer seriously questioned. The philosophy underlying all this is that the individual must be curbed for the good of

society and that the community is responsible for the well-being of its members.

Two World Wars have convinced most thinking persons that some form of international organization is necessary. All are agreed this must be a rule of law, not of force. Yet the law must be enforced on all nations, large or small, and that will ultimately have to mean the surrender of some national sovereignty to the international government. None of the big nations have yet shown a willingness to make this sacrifice. But it will come in time, if not by peaceful means, then by a war ending in stalemate and exhaustion.

The same tendencies are apparent in the realm of thought. Philosophic liberalism, with its assumption that all truth is relative to the individual (what is true for you may not be true for me), is yielding to a demand for objective truth. Progressive education aimed at the unrestrained development of the individual is being replaced by a restoration of discipline. The hero of some of the more successful pieces of modern literature is not an individual but a group. The typical scientist of today is not a lonely visionary struggling in a garret to make a startling discovery but the atomic physicist, one of many working together on government-owned machinery, all of whom have been carefully checked by the F.B.I. before being allowed access to the plant.

Inevitably this change in culture is being reflected in religion. As the new trend is still a recent development, its manifestations are only in the early stages. Religion is always conservative and resists change. We should not expect to see concrete results so soon. Yet if we read the signs of the time correctly, there are several important movements springing up all over the Church which will bear watching. As they reflect a more socialized philosophy, they should grow with that philosophy. If they do they will undermine individualistic features of Christianity which have persisted unchallenged since the sixteenth century.

There is, for example, the revival of authoritarian theology. This has been a feature of the Roman Church since the Counter-Reformation. But it has been a cut and dried authoritarianism, the mere acceptance of formulae as a safeguard against the dangers of new ideas. Now in the hands of contemporary theologians, the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas is being rediscovered as a source of original thought. Gilson and Maritain, to mention only the pioneers of the school, are recognized thinkers with a following in philosophical circles. Through

them the ancient theology of the Church is being restored to intellectual respectability.

In Protestantism a similar trend is to be found in neo-orthodoxy. Again its presupposition is that there are real truths about God and man which have been revealed in the Faith and can be discovered by those who will try to find out what the Church has taught down the centuries. These two movements at opposite ends of the Church are approaching each other. The modern disciples of St. Thomas are showing that the Faith is reasonable. The neo-orthodox are discovering that it is reasonable to have faith. As usual both trends are apparent in Anglicanism. The latter has the additional advantage of having maintained all along that the basis of authority in Faith is the teaching of the whole Church.

The liturgical movement is another manifestation of the new tendency. Its aim is to recover the social nature of worship. In the Roman Church the Mass has become a private activity of the priest at which the laity are merely present. The service being in Latin, few can understand it. The custom has been for the lay people to occupy themselves with private devotions. Now the liturgical movement is urging an intelligent participation by the laity in the act of worship. The same movement is affecting Protestantism. There the problem is to restore a service of worship instead of preaching. In some Protestant Churches much in the way of traditional aids to worship, both church decorations and ritual, is being revived. Again, the Anglican Communion is in a favorable position, for its Prayer Book has provided all along a liturgical service in English which has endeared itself to generations of worshippers. The Catholic Revival has restored helps to worship to some extent in every parish, and there are many places where the prayer life centers in the Mass celebrated with traditional ceremonial and full congregational participation.

The most striking reversal of the trend which has prevailed since the Reformation is the present urge toward unity. One aspect of this movement, however, springs not from the new social trend but from the old liberalism. The Liberal's conclusion that all truth is relative leads to the feeling that it does not matter what a man believes. Accordingly there is no excuse for the existence of various sects separated from each other by dogmas which are no longer important. Hence Christians are urged to discard their differences and to unite on the basis of what they hold in common. Since there is little they can agree upon, this type of unity would be achieved at the expense of the Faith and Sacraments. The liberal unity movement runs counter to

neo-orthodoxy and the liturgical revival. As the latter grows in strength, we may expect the former to die out.

The World Council of Churches represents a unity movement more in line with the new social trends. It seeks to resolve differences not by discarding them but by understanding and reconciling them. This is a slower process but more constructive. The World Council has held several conferences where the differing positions were discussed and an attempt made to learn from each other. Between conferences its work is carried on by committees. Whenever it has been possible for the members of the Council to unite in stating the social implications of Christianity in relation to some current problem this has been done.

The World Council includes the Anglicans, most of the Protestants and some Orthodox. The Roman Church has held aloof, insisting that the only road to unity is submission to the Pope. Theoretically the position of the Pope as the historical symbol of unity should be strengthened by the current drive toward a united Christendom. Actually the exaggerated papal claims, the assertion that the Pope is the infallible source of doctrine, and his usurpation of the rights of bishops and of local Churches is an insuperable obstacle. Since these exaggerated claims are the result of the individualism of the Counter-Reformation, however, we may expect them to be undermined as the social trend of modern culture grows stronger. The Roman Church maintains too strict a censorship for the preliminary signs of tension to be apparent yet. But if the cultural climate is changing, the tension will mount.

Once more the Anglican Communion, with its comprehensive tradition, is in a favorable position. It is true that some of its members advocate the liberal type of unity, and others would adopt a Catholicism as stiff-backed as that of the Romanists. If these two extremes can be avoided, however, if the Anglican Communion can preserve its comprehensiveness without losing its sympathy, it can serve as the interpreter between the Roman Catholics, the Orthodox and the Protestants, and even, if God the Holy Spirit so wills, as the agent for reuniting them.

Most hopeful of all is the current return to the doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ. This doctrine was first obscured by the Great Schism in 1054, which separated the East and the West. Each half of the Church was left with its own emphasis, unbalanced by the other. The Reformation in the West was a further repercussion of the earlier split, dividing the Church into many competing sects. As a result Christians no longer thought of themselves as members of the

universal Church, but as adherents of a particular group that stressed certain doctrines and practices and neglected others. Such post-reformation developments as rigid regimentation, puritanism, individualistic piety, and liberalism completed the process of undermining the doctrine of the Body of Christ. Each sect or school of thought tried to win recruits to its own approach to Christ, rather than to Christ himself.

Today a new force is rampant in the world. It is totalitarianism. Based on a materialistic philosophy, it is diametrically opposed to Christianity and it claims control over the whole of man. It seeks to enslave him, body, mind and soul, and it has terrifying weapons with which it can force itself on society. The divided Church with its many partial Gospels and human expedients finds itself powerless to overcome this monster. More and more Christians are realizing that nothing less than the universal Church, the Body of Christ through which he himself can speak and act, can save man in the present crisis. It is to be hoped that this trend will continue and that we shall all come to think of ourselves as belonging primarily not to some self-sufficient communion but to the universal Church, that we shall take to heart once more those stirring words of St. Paul, "Ye are the Body of Christ, and members in particular."

Appendix

REVIEW OUTLINES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDEX

REVIEW OUTLINE I

Lives of Saints Peter, John and Paul

St. Peter	Page	Bible
Son of Jonah, brother of Andrew		
A fisherman of Capernaum in Galilee		
A disciple of St. John Baptist		John 1:40-41
Called by Christ to be a disciple and Apostle	12	Luke 5:1-11 Mark 3:13-16
(Mark 1:29-31; 5:35-43; Matt. 14:24-32; 16:13-23; Mark 9:2-9; Luke 22:8-13; John 13:4-10; Luke 22:31-34; Mark 14:32-42; John 18:10-11; Luke 22:54-62; John 20:1-10; Luke 24:34; John 21:1-19.)*		
Presided at choice of Matthias		Acts 1:15-26
Received Holy Spirit	16-17	Acts 2:1-4
Preached first Christian sermon	17	Acts 2:14-40
Healed lame beggar	18	Acts 3:1-4:22
Accused Ananias and Sapphira	18-19	Acts 5:1-11
Second trial before Sanhedrin	19	Acts 5:17-42
Visited Samaria to confirm converts	21	Acts 8:14-25
Healed Aeneas at Lydda	22	Acts 9:32-35
Raised Dorcas from the dead at Joppa	22	Acts 9:36-43
Baptized Cornelius at Caesarea	22-23	Acts 10:1-11:18
Imprisoned by Herod, released by an angel	24	Acts 12:3-17
Disputed with Paul at Antioch	30-31	Gal. 2:11-16
Addressed Apostolic Council	31	Acts 15:7-11
Crucified at Rome, 64 A.D.	35	Tradition
St. John		
Son of Zebedee, brother of James		
A fisherman of Capernaum in Galilee		
A disciple of St. John Baptist		John 1:35-39
Called by Christ to be a disciple and Apostle	12	Mark 1:19-20 Mark 3:13-17
(Mark 5:35-43; Luke 9:49-50; Mark 9:2-9; Luke 9:51-56; Mark 10:35-45; Luke 22:8-13; John 13:23; Mark 14:32-42; John 18:15; 19:25-27; 20:1-10; 21:20-24.)*		
Received Holy Spirit	16-17	Acts 2:1-4
Healed lame beggar	18	Acts 3:1-4:22
Second trial before Sanhedrin	19	Acts 5:17-42
Visited Samaria to confirm converts	21	Acts 8:14-25
Bishop of Ephesus	35	Tradition
Boiled in oil at Rome (?)	35	Tradition
Slave on Patmos, wrote Revelation (?)	35	Rev. 1:9-10
Returned to Ephesus, wrote Gospel, Epistles	35	John 21:24
Died natural death, c. 100 A.D.	35	Tradition

* References to the most important episodes in which the Apostle played a leading role during his discipleship.

REVIEW OUTLINE I (Continued)

Lives of Saints Peter, John and Paul

St. Paul	Page	Bible
Born in Tarsus, Pharisee, Roman citizen	25	Acts 21:39; 23:6
Studied under Gamaliel in Jerusalem	26	Acts 22:3
Chief accuser of Stephen	20	Acts 7:58
Converted on road to Damascus	27	Acts 9:1-22; 22:4-16; 26:11-19
Visit to Arabia, return to Damascus	29	Gal. 1:17
Escape from Damascus	29	Acts 9:23-25; II Cor. 11:32-33
Visit to Jerusalem	29	Acts 9:26-30; 22:17-21 Gal. 1:18-19
Called from Tarsus to Antioch	29	Acts 11:25-26
Visit to Jerusalem, ministry approved	30	Acts 11:27-30 Gal. 2:1-10
First Missionary Journey	30	Acts 13:1-14:28
Dispute at Antioch	30-31	Gal. 2:11-16 Acts 15:1-2
Apostolic Council	31-32	Acts 15:4-35
Second Missionary Journey	32	Acts 15:36-18:22
Third Missionary Journey	32-33	Acts 18:23-21:17
Arrest at Jerusalem	34	Acts 21:18-23:31
Imprisonment in Caesarea	34	Acts 23:33-26:32
Journey to Rome	34	Acts 27:1-28:31
Possibly acquitted, other journeys	35	Tradition
Beheaded at Rome, 64 A.D.	35	Tradition

REVIEW OUTLINE II. THE EARLY CHURCH

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Achievements</i>	<i>Controversies</i>	<i>Leaders</i>	<i>Opponents</i>
c. 30	Crucifixion Resurrection Gift of Holy Ghost	Jews converted	Was Jesus the Messiah?	The Eleven, esp.: Peter (?-64) John (?-100) James of Jerusalem Barnabas Stephen (?-c. 35) Philip the Deacon Paul (?-64) Cornelius Mark Timothy Luke	Judas Ananias Sapphira
c. 35	Stephen martyred Conversion of Paul	Gentiles converted New Testament begun	Must Gentiles become Jews? Is salvation a free gift or a reward?		Simon the Sorcerer
c. 50	Apostolic Council	Four-step Eucharist	Gnosticism Docetism		
c. 64 70 c. 93	Peter, Paul martyred Jerusalem destroyed Domitian persecution	Threefold Ministry Church planted throughout Mediterranean area		Clement of Rome (fl. 95)	
c. 100 Second Century	Death of John Occasional, local persecutions	Heroic martyrdoms		Ignatius of Antioch (?-c. 110) Polycarp (?-156)	
			Montanism		Marcion (fl. 139-142) Montanus (fl. 157)
		New Testament selected		Justin Martyr (100-165) Theophilus of Antioch (fl. 171-183) Irenaeus (133?-200?) Clement of Alexandria (c. 155-215) Callistus (?-223) Hippolytus (?-236)	Sabellius (fl. 198-217)
		Sacrament of Penance Doctrine of Trinity	Sabellianism		Tertullian (c. 155-c. 225)

REVIEW OUTLINE II. THE EARLY CHURCH (Continued)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Achievements</i>	<i>Controversies</i>	<i>Leaders</i>	<i>Opponents</i>
250-1 257-60	Decian persecution Valerian persecution			Cyprian (c. 200-258) Dionysius of Alexandria (190?-265) Gregory the Illuminator (fl. 260-305) Anthony (250-356)	Origen (c. 185-254) Paul of Samosata (fl. 260-273)
303-13 313 314	Diocletian persecution Edict of Milan Council of Arles	Apostles' Creed Monasticism Christianity tolerated	Donatism	Constantine (274?-337) Pachomius (c. 292-346)	Donatus
323	Constantine sole Emperor	Monasteries Persecution ends			

REVIEW OUTLINE III. THE AGE OF THE COUNCILS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Achievements</i>	<i>Controversies</i>	<i>Leaders</i>	<i>Opponents</i>
325	Nicaea I	Nicene Creed	Arianism	Alexander (?-328) Hosius (256-358) Eusebius of Caesarea (?-340?) Marcellus (?-374) Athanasius (296-373) Julius I (?-352) Liberius (?-366) Hilary of Poitiers (300-368) Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386) Martin (316-397)	Arius (?-336) Eusebius of Nicomedia (?-341) Constantius (?-361)
360	Arianism at its height				
381	Constantinople I	Paragraph on the Holy Spirit	Macedonianism Apollinarianism	Basil (c. 329-379) Gregory of Nyssa (?-c. 396) Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 325-389) Ambrose (340-397) Jerome (340-420) John Chrysostom (347-407)	Macedonius (?-364) Apollinaris (?-392) Theophilus (?-412) Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428) Pelagius (fl. 400-418)
410	First Sack of Rome	Doctrine of Grace	Manichæism Pelagianism		
431	Ephesus		Nestorianism	Augustine of Hippo (354-430) Cyril of Alexandria (c. 376-444)	Nestorius (?-452) Theodoret (393-457) Ibas (?-457)
		Caesaro-papalism Rise of Papacy			
451	Chalcedon	Doctrine of Incarnation	Monophysitism	Flavian (?-449) Leo I (390-461)	Eutyches (?-454) Dioscorus (?-454)

REVIEW OUTLINE IV. THE GENERAL COUNCILS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Called by</i>	<i>Condemned</i>		<i>Chief Defender of the Faith</i>
				<i>Heresies</i>	<i>Heretics</i>	
I	Nicaea I	325	Constantine I	Arianism	Arius	Athanasius
II	Constantinople I	381	Theodosius I	Arianism Macedonianism Apollinarianism	Macedonius* Apollinaris*	Gregory of Nazianzus
III	Ephesus	431	Theodosius II	Nestorianism Pelagianism	Nestorius Pelagius*	Cyril of Alexandria
IV	Chalcedon	451	Marcian	Monophysitism	Eutyches* Dioscorus	Leo I*
V	Constantinople II	553	Justinian I	Origenism	Origen* Theodore of Mopsuestia* Theodoret* Ibas*	Justinian I
VI	Constantinople III	680-1	Constantine IV	Monothelitism	Honorius*	Agatho*
VII	Nicaea II	787	Constantine VI	Iconoclasm	Leo III*	John of Damascus*

* Not present at the Council.

REVIEW OUTLINE V. THE MAJOR HERESIES

354

<i>Name</i>	<i>The Heresy taught</i>	<i>The Church teaches</i>
Gnosticism (Docetism)	Matter is evil. Not created by God. God did not really become man. Body and soul unrelated.	Matter is good. Created by God. God really became man, suffered and died. Resurrection of the body.
Montanism	Special revelation of the Holy Ghost.	Holy Ghost abides in the Church.
Sabellianism	Only one Person in God.	God is Trinity, three Persons in one Nature.
Arianism	The Son is a creature.	The Son is of the same substance with the Father, is God.
Macedonianism	The Holy Ghost is a creature.	The Holy Ghost is God.
Apollinarianism	Christ has no human spirit.	Christ has a complete human nature.
Manichæism	A late form of Gnosticism.	See Gnosticism, above.
Pelagianism	Man can save himself.	Man needs the redemption and grace of Christ.
Nestorianism	Christ is two Persons (God the Son and the human Jesus Christ) each acting through his own nature.	Christ is one Person (God the Son) acting through two natures—divine and human.
Monophysitism	In Christ the divine and human natures are mixed to form one nature.	In Christ the divine and human natures are distinct. They are united in his Person.
Origenism	Tendency toward Nestorianism.	See Nestorianism, above.
Monothelitism	Christ has no human will.	Christ has a complete human nature.
Iconoclasm	Pictures and images may not be used in devotions.	They may be used.

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Date	Events	Achievements	Controversies	Leaders	Opponents
476	Fall of the Western Roman Empire	Benedictines Canon Law Summary of Theology	Germanic Arians	Clovis (c. 466-511) Benedict (480-543) Justinian I (483-565) Gregory the Great (540-604) Augustine of Canterbury (?-604?) Isidore of Seville (fl. 600-636)	Mohammed (570-632) Honorius (?-638)
496	Conversion of the Franks		Origenism		
529	Monte Cassino founded				
553	Constantinople II		Monothelitism		
597	Mission to England				
610	Mohammedanism				
635	Mohammedan conquest begins				
680-1	Constantinople III	Revival of learning Monastic Reform	Iconoclasm	Agatho (?-681) John of Damascus (700-753) Charles Martel (c. 688-741) Boniface (680-754)	Leo III (680-740)
732	Mohammedans checked in West				
787	Nicaea II				
800	Holy Roman Empire				
863	Photian Schism	Monastic reform	Simony Celibacy Eucharistic	Charlemagne (742-814) Alcuin (735?-804) Benedict of Aniane (750?-821) Ansgar (801-865) Photius (c. 820-897) Boris Cyril (827-869) Methodius (826-885)	Berengar (?-1088)
864	Bulgars converted				
875	Moravians, Bohemians, Poles converted				
910	Cluny founded				
998	Russia, Hungary, Poland, Scandinavia converted	Transubstantiation	Investiture	Vladimir (956-1015) Lanfranc (1005-1089) Michael Cerularius (?-1058) Hildebrand (Gregory VII) (1023-1085)	Henry IV (1050-1106)
1054	Great Schism				

REVIEW OUTLINE VII. THE CHURCH IN THE BRITISH ISLES

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Achievements</i>	<i>Controversies</i>	<i>Leaders</i>	<i>Opponents</i>
314	British Bishops at Arles	Conversion of Britain		Alban (?-304)	
422	Patrick to Ireland	Conversion of Ireland Celtic Monasticism Sacrament of Penance		Patrick (389-461)	
449	Anglo-Saxon invasions				
563	Columba to Scotland	Conversion of Scotland		Columba (521-597)	
597	Augustine to England	Conversion of Kent		Augustine of Canterbury (?-604?)	
634	Aidan to England	Conversion of Northumbria		Paulinus (?-644)	Penda (?-655)
664	Council of Whitby	Union of Church	Celtic vs. Roman use	Oswald (605-642) Aidan (?-651) Wilfrid (634-709) Chad Theodore of Tarsus (602-690)	
879	Danes checked	Learning		Bede (673-735)	
1017	Danish kingdom	Conversion of Danes		Alfred (848-900) Dunstan (925-988) Canute (995-1035) Edward the Confessor (1003-1066)	
1066	Norman conquest			William I (1027?-1087) Lanfranc (1005-1089) Anselm (1033-1109)	William II (c. 1056-1100)
		Compromise on investiture	Investiture		
1215	Magna Charta	English liberties	Church vs. state	Thomas à Becket (1118-1170) Stephen Langton (1165?-1228)	Henry II (1133-1189) John (1167-1216)

REVIEW OUTLINE VIII. THE MIDDLE AGES

Date	Events	Achievements	Controversies	Leaders	Opponents
1084	Carthusians founded	New Religious Orders	Exemplarism	Bruno (c. 1030-1101) Anselm (1033-1109)	Abelard (1079-1142) Saladin (1138-1193) Cathari, Waldensians
1097	First Crusade	Kingdom of Jerusalem			
1098	Cistercians founded	Investiture settled			
1120	Norbertines founded				
1122	Concordat of Worms				
1147	Second Crusade				
1189	Third Crusade				
1202	Fourth Crusade				
1210	Franciscans approved				
1215	Fourth Lateran Council	Friars Scholasticism		Francis of Assisi (1182?-1226)	
1216	Dominicans approved			Dominic (1170-1221) Louis IX (1214-1270) Albert the Great (c. 1206-1280)	
				Bonaventure (1221-1274) Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274)	
1274	Council of Lyons			Duns Scotus (?-1308) Boniface VIII (c. 1235-1303)	
1305	Papacy to Avignon	“Babylonian Captivity”		William of Occam (?-c. 1349)	
1377	Pope returned to Rome		Catherine of Siena (1347-1380)		
				John Wyclif (c. 1320-1384)	

Continued next page

REVIEW OUTLINE VIII. THE MIDDLE AGES (Continued)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Achievements</i>	<i>Controversies</i>	<i>Leaders</i>	<i>Opponents</i>
1378	Papal Schism	Mystic movement	Papal Schism	Walter Hilton (?-1396) Julian of Norwich (c. 1342-1413?)	John Hus (c. 1373-1415)
1409 1414-8	Council of Pisa Council of Constance	Inventions	Three Popes Council vs. Pope	Bernadine of Siena (1380-1444) Joan of Arc (1411?-1431)	
1431-49 1438-9	Council of Basel- Ferrara-Florence	Pragmatic Sanction Greek studies		Lorenzo Valla (c. 1405-1457) Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380-1471)	
1453	Fall of Constantinople	Hebrew studies Discoveries		Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) Savonarola (1452-1498)	

REVIEW OUTLINE IX. BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMATION

<i>New Social Movements</i>	<i>Effect on</i>		
	<i>Protestantism</i>	<i>Roman Catholicism</i>	<i>Church of England</i>
1. Nationalism	National Churches. State control. Religion determined by ruler.	Territory regained through conversion of ruler. Subservient to Roman Catholic kings.	National Church. State control. Religion determined by rulers.
2. New Learning	Bible study resulting in criticism of Tradition. Translations of Bible. Biblical criticism.	Renaissance Popes encouraged learning and art, increasing taxes. Opposed Protestantism by Inquisition, Index, rigid uniformity and exaltation of Pope.	Humanist scholarship, preserving universal basis of authority and sound liturgy. King James' Bible. Biblical criticism.
3. Middle Class	Appeal to Middle Class.	Backed Old Order vs. Middle Class.	Appeal to Middle Class.
Mercantilism	Relaxation of discipline. This-worldly. Monasteries, Church wealth destroyed. Bishops, priestly caste eliminated.	Some relaxation of discipline to favor trade. Church income used for state officials. Some clergy abuses reformed.	Relaxation of discipline. This-worldly. Monasteries, Church wealth destroyed.
Written Word	Emphasis on Bible, written formulae.	Definitions of Trent.	Emphasis on Bible; Thirty-nine Articles.
Education	State education. Services in peoples' language.	Church sponsored education.	Education encouraged. Prayer Book in English.
4. Individualism	Emphasis on conversion. Authority of individual conscience. Many sects.	Interest in psychology of spiritual life. Authority of Pope as individual.	Interest in psychology of spiritual life. King head of the Church. Eventual tolerance of different teaching within Church.

(Humanists)*	Lutherans	Radicals	Calvinists	Roman Catholics	Anglicans
Reform by learning Faithful to Pope and medieval system	Rejected Pope, Councils Authority: Bible inter- preted by individ- ual conscience Salvation by faith only Good works no value Conservative the- ology Priesthood of all be- lievers Germany: no bishops Two Sacraments— Baptism Eucharist No Sacrifice Real Presence Penance optional Services in people's language Ritual State Church	Moravians (Hussites) Anabaptists: No Infant Baptism Immersion Congregational authority Zwinglians: State con- trol of doctrine Eucharist: Memorial No Real Presence Congregationalists: Congregational authority Baptists: Like Anabaptists Quakers: Quiet No Sacraments, clergy, ritual Deists: Rational, natural religion Unitarians: Denied Trinity Methodists: Conver- sion emphasized Campbellites Literal biblicalism Mormons: Polygamy Christian Science: Manichaeism Pentecostal sects: Signs of Holy Spirit Revivalists: Emotional conversion	Rejected Pope Authority: Bible interpreted by <i>Institutes</i> Glory and Will of God Total depravity Predestination Works show election No bishops, laymen control Two Sacraments— seals of Christ's promises: Baptism Eucharist No Sacrifice Receptionism Services in peoples' language Little ritual Theocracy	Pope head of Church Authority: Bible, Tradition, Papal Infallibility Faith rigidly defined Council of Trent rigidly enforced Inquisition Index Kept bishops Reformed clergy Seminaries Jesuits Oratorians Seven Sacraments Sacrifice of Mass Transubstantiation Spiritual revival Mystics Psychology of spiritual life Services in Latin Ritual Church over State	Rejected Pope Authority: Bible and Tradition Catholic Faith in Protestant lan- guage Thirty-nine Articles Inclusive Kept bishops Laity consulted Distinguished Sacra- ments Two major: Baptism Eucharist Real Presence Five Minor Spiritual revival Prayer Book in English Variant ritual England: State control Autonomous Churches

* A movement, not a division

REVIEW OUTLINE XI. EVENTS OF THE REFORMATION (16th Century)

<i>Important Popes (Dates of reigns)</i>	<i>Italy, Spain and Portugal</i>	<i>France, Switzerland, Low Countries</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Scandinavia and East Europe</i>	<i>British Isles</i>
Leo X (1513-21) Diplomatic politician; worldly, patron of arts	1517 Oratory of Divine Love		1516 Erasmus' Greek N. T. 1517 Luther's Ninety-Five Theses 1519 Luther debated Eck Charles V Emperor 1520 Pope condemned Luther 1521 Diet condemned Luther Luther condemned Anabaptists 1522 Knights' War 1524 Peasants' revolt		
	1520 Spanish Inquisition vs. Protestants				
	1521 St. Ignatius converted				1521 Henry VIII, "Defender of the Faith"
Clement VII (1523-34) Primarily an Italian prince	1527 Sack of Rome	1524 Zwingli reformed Zurich	1526 Diet of Speier. Toleration 1529 Diet of Speier. Protest 1530 Augsburg Confession	1525 Prussia Lutheran 1527 Sweden Lutheran	
		1529 First Swiss War			1529 Pope refused Henry's annulment
		1531 Second Swiss War, Zwingli killed 1532 Farel to Geneva 1533 Calvin converted			1531-4 Henry broke with Pope
		1536 Calvin to Geneva	1534-5 Munster revolt		
Paul III (1534-49) Planned and slightly encouraged reform				1536 Denmark Lutheran	1536 Ten Articles 1536-9 Monasteries destroyed

REVIEW OUTLINE XI. EVENTS OF THE REFORMATION (16th Century) (Continued)

<i>Important Popes (Dates of reigns)</i>	<i>Italy, Spain and Portugal</i>	<i>France, Switzerland, Low Countries</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Scandinavia and East Europe</i>	<i>British Isles</i>
	1538 Scheme of reform presented 1540 Jesuits established 1542 Italian Inquisition 1545-7 Council of Trent	1538 Farel, Calvin banished 1541 Calvin back to Geneva First Assembly.....	1540 Landgrave Phillip's bigamy 1546 Luther died 1548 Interim agreement	1537 Norway Lutheran 1552 Iceland Lutheran	1537 <i>Bishops' Book</i> 1538 Great Bible authorized 1539 Six Articles 1543 <i>King's Book</i> 1545 <i>The Primer</i> 1547 Edward VI 1549 First Prayer Book 1550 Ordinal 1552 Second Prayer Book 1553 Forty-two Articles Mary Tudor 1554 Mary married Philip II Pole absolved England 1556 Cranmer executed 1558 Elizabeth 1559 Act of Supremacy Third Prayer Book Parker Consecrated 1560 Scotland Presbyterian
Julius III (1550-55) Easy going	1551-2 Council of Trent, Second Assembly..... 1551 Phillip Neri founded Congregation of the Oratory				
Paul IV (1555-9) (Giovanni Caraffa) Reformer			1555 Peace of Augsburg		
Pius IV (1559-65) Amiable and politic Tolerated reform	1559 Index of Forbidden Books	1559 University of Geneva First Huguenot Synod			

Continued next page

REVIEW OUTLINE XI. EVENTS OF THE REFORMATION (16th Century) (Continued)

<i>Important Popes (Dates of reigns)</i>	<i>Italy, Spain and Portugal</i>	<i>France, Switzerland, Low Countries</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Scandinavia and East Europe</i>	<i>British Isles</i>
Pius V (1566-72) Austere; ardent Counter- Reformationist	1562-3 Council of Trent, Third Assembly..... 1562 Teresa founded reform	1562-80 Huguenot Wars 1564 Calvin died		1565 Jesuits in Poland	
	1568 John of the Cross founded reform	1566 Netherlands revolt		1567 Jesuits in Hungary	1567 Mary Queen of Scots abdicated 1571 Thirty-nine Articles 1572 "Bishops" in Scotland
	1570 Pope condemned Elizabeth 1572 Protestantism crushed in Italy 1576 Protestantism crushed in Spain	1577 Holland tolerated Anabaptists 1585-93 War of the Three Henrys	1580 <i>Formula of Concord</i>	1573 Protestants tolerated in Poland 1579 Jesuits in Transylvania	
		1598 Edict of Nantes		1598 Transylvania Catholic	1587 Mary Queen of Scots executed 1588 Spanish Armada destroyed 1594 Hooker's <i>Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity</i>

REVIEW OUTLINE XII. EVENTS OF THE REFORMATION (17th Century)

<i>France, Low Countries</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Scandinavia and East Europe</i>	<i>British Isles</i>
<p>1610 Francis de Sales founded Visitation Nuns Henry IV killed 1618-9 Synod of Dort 1624 Richelieu to power 1625 Vincent de Paul founded Congregation of the Mission</p> <p>1642 Richelieu died 1643 Jansenism condemned</p> <p>1685 Edict of Nantes revoked</p> <p>1693 Gallicanism suppressed 1699 Fénelon condemned</p>	<p>1618 Thirty Years' War</p> <p>1632 Gustav Adolph killed 1634 Wallenstein killed 1635 Peace of Prague</p> <p>1648 Peace of Westphalia</p> <p>1670 Pietism started</p>	<p>1624 Hungary Catholic 1629 Denmark withdrew from Thirty Years' War 1630-2 Gustav Adolph in Germany 1632 Poland Catholic</p>	<p>1603 James I 1604 Hampton Court Conference 1610 Scottish Bishops consecrated 1611 King James' Bible</p> <p>1625 Charles I</p> <p>1633 Laud Archbishop</p> <p>1637 Laud's Prayer Book for Scotland 1638 Scottish Bishops deposed 1640 Long Parliament 1645 Laud executed 1646 England Presbyterian 1649 Charles I beheaded 1654 Cromwell Lord Protector 1660 Charles II 1661 Savoy Conference Scottish bishops restored 1662 Fourth Prayer Book</p> <p>1685 James II 1688 William and Mary 1689 Non-jurors Scottish bishops deposed</p>

REVIEW OUTLINE XIII. LEADERS OF THE MODERN CHURCH.

Humanists

John Colet (1467?-1519)
 Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523)
 Thomas More (1478-1535) Thomas Wolsey (c. 1475-1530)

Roman Catholics

Anglicans

Protestants

366

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Giovanni Caraffa (Paul IV) (1476-1559)		Martin Luther (1483-1546)
Reginald Pole (1500-1558)	Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556)	Philip Melancthon (1497-1560)
Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556)	Stephen Gardiner* (?-1555)	Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531)
Francis Xavier (1506-1552)	Edmund Bonner* (c. 1500-1559)	William Farel (1489-1565)
Philip Neri (1515-1595)		John Calvin (1509-1564)
Charles Borromeo (1538-1584)	Matthew Parker (1504-1575)	
Teresa (1515-1582)		John Knox (c. 1505-1572)
John of the Cross (1542-1591)	Richard Bancroft (1544-1610)	
Francis de Sales (1567-1622)	Richard Hooker (1553-1600)	Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609)
Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638)	Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626)	
	George Herbert (1593-1633)	Roger Williams (c. 1604-1684)
Vincent de Paul (1580-1660)	William Laud (1573-1645)	George Fox (1624-1691)
Antoine Arnaud (1612-1694)		William Penn (1644-1718)
Blaise Pascal (1623-1662)	William Law (1686-1761)	Philipp Spener (1635-1705)
Jacques Bossuet (1627-1704)	John Wesley (1703-1791)	
Francis Fénelon (1651-1715)	George Whitefield (1714-1770)	
	Samuel Seabury (1729-1796)	
	William White (1748-1836)	
Jean-Baptiste Vianney (1786-1859)	Alexander Griswold (1766-1843)	Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834)
	John Henry Hobart (1775-1830)	
	John Keble (1792-1866)	
John Henry Newman (1801-1890)	Richard Froude (1803-1836)	
Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892)	Edward Pusey (1800-1882)	Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855)
	John Mason Neale (1818-1866)	
	Phillips Brooks (1835-1893)	

Henry VIII (1509-1547)		Edward VI (1547-1553)		Mary (1553-1558)	Elizabeth (1558-1603)
Broke with Pope Head of Church Remained Catholic Destroyed monasteries Bible, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Litany in English Ten Articles <i>Bishops' Book</i> Six Articles <i>King's Book</i> <i>Primer</i>		Protestant influence Church wealth destroyed Prayer Book 1549 Prayer Book 1552 Forty-two Articles		Returned to Roman Church Dropped Prayer Book, Articles, anti-papal legislation Kept Church lands Persecuted Anglicans and Protestants	Act of Supremacy Prayer Book 1559 Matthew Parker consecrated Thirty-nine Articles Forced to persecute Romanists and Protestants Theology revived
James I (1603-1625) Charles I (1625-1649)		Commonwealth and Protectorate (1640-1660)	Restoration (1660-1714)	Eighteenth Century	Nineteenth Century
Hampton Court Conference King James' Bible Divine Right of Kings Persecuted Romanists and Protestants		Persecuted Anglicans Presbyterianism established Independents in control Puritan morals	Charles II (1660-1685) Church of England restored Savoy Conference Prayer Book, 1662 Persecuted Romanists, Protestants James II (1685-1688) Attempt to return to Rome stopped William and Mary (1689-1702) Non-jurors Protestants tolerated Anne (1702-1714) High Church revival Persecuted Romanists, Protestants S.P.G. Queen Anne's Bounty	Latitudinarians Reason, morals Dull, respectable Increasing toleration Methodists Emphasis on conversion Gospel to the poor Broke with Church except for Low Church party	Complete Toleration Low Church Abolished slavery Missionary movement Catholic revival Tractarians Emphasis on Sacraments, Faith Church to the poor Ritual controversies Missionary movement Broad Church Biblical Criticism Liberalism Unity

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Index

Saints are always listed under Christian names.

Abbreviations: Ch. = Chart; R.O. = Review Outline.

A

Abelard, 168-70, R.O. VIII.
 Africa, Church in, 256, 306, 308, 336; *see*
also Egypt; Ethiopia; North Africa;
 South Africa.
 Agatho, St., Pope, 127, 154, R.O. IV, VI.
 Aidan, St., 152, 153, R.O. VII.
 Alban the Martyr, St., 145, R.O. VII.
 Albert the Great, St., 181-2, 185, 202, R.O.
 VIII.
 Alcuin, 123, 148, R.O. VI.
 Alexander of Alexandria, St., 76, 78, 80, 82,
 Ch. VII, R.O. III.
 Alexander VI, Pope, 193, 198.
 Alexandria, Church in, 35-6, 69-71, 75-6, 87,
 88, 102, 104, 106, 107-8, 114, 120; fall
 of, 125, 127, 130.
 Alfred, 156, R.O. VII.
 Ambrose, St., 94-5, 96, R.O. III.
 Anabaptists, 218-9, 249, 262, 323, R.O. X, XI.
 Ananias and Sapphira, 18-9, R.O. II.
 Andrewes, Lancelot, 282-3, 294, 300, 313,
 R.O. XIII.
 Anglican Communion, 306-9.
 Anglican Orders, validity of, 266, 276, 278-9,
 305, 309-12.
 Anglicanism, 266, 280, 283-4, 289, 300-1,
 309-18, 344-6, Ch. XI, XII, R.O. X,
 XIII, XIV.
 Anglo-Catholic, *see* High Church.
 Anne of England, 295, 326, 330, R.O. XIV.
 Anselm, St., 141, 160-1, 164, 168, R.O. VII,
 VIII.
 Ansgar, St., 136, R.O. VI.
 Anthony, St., 62, 82, R.O. II.
 Antioch, Church in, 21, 24, 29, 30-1, 36, 70,
 75, 101, 102-5, 106, 107, 108, 114, 120;
 creeds of, 86; fall of, 125, 127, 130.
 Apollinarianism, 90-1, 104, Ch. X, R.O. III,
 IV, V.
 Apollinairis, 91, R.O. III, IV.
 Apostles, 12-6, 17-9, 23, 35, 50-2, 53, 55,
 58, 71, 312, Ch. II, IV.
 Apostolic Council, 24, 31-2, 78n, R.O. II.
 Apostolic Succession, continuity of, 50-5, 67;
 necessity of, 4, 196-7, 280, 332; reten-
 tion of, 233, 248, 278-9, 309-12, 315,
 316, 332, 333-4; loss of, *see* Bishops,
 elimination of.
 Arianism, 70, 75-90, 92, 94-5, 99, 108, 115,
 119, 126, 132, 134, Ch. VII, X, R.O. III,
 IV, V, VI.
 Aristotle, 182, 202.
 Arius, 75-84, Ch. VII, R.O. III, IV.
 Arles, Council of, (314), 46, 145, R.O. II,
 VII; (353), 87.
 Armenia, Church in, 35, 44, 46.
 Arminianism, 257-9, 297, Ch. XI.
 Arminius, Jacobus, 257, R.O. XIII.

Arnauld, Angélique and Antoine, 252, R.O.
 XIII.
 Articles (Church of England), R.O. XI, XIV;
 Ten Articles, 272; Six Articles, 272-3;
 Forty-two Articles, 274, 275, 279; Thirty-
 nine Articles, 266, 279, 281, 301, 322,
 R.O. IX, X.
 Asceticism, 62, 65, 100, 118, 131, 148, 166,
 214, 215, 217, 236.
 Asia Minor, Church in, 35, 89.
 Athanasius, St., 82, 83-9, 92, 117, Ch. VII,
 VIII, R.O. III, IV.
 Atonement, 14, 98, 160, 169, 221, 257.
 Augsburg Confession, 239, 257, R.O. XI.
 Augsburg, Peace of, 240-1, 242, R.O. XI.
 Augustine of Canterbury, St., 120, 150, R.O.
 VI, VII.
 Augustine of Hippo, St., 95-9, 196, 214, 233,
 251, R.O. III.
 Australia, Church in, 307.
 Austria, Church in, 226, 241, 243, 247, 251.
 Avignon, 187, 188-9, 190-1.

B

"Babylonian Captivity" of Papacy, 187-9, 193,
 R.O. VIII.
 Bacon, Roger, 185.
 Balkans, Church in, 35, 132, 134, 264, 336,
 R.O. VI.
 Baltic States, Church in, 136, 248, 249, 251.
 Bancroft, Richard, 280, 282, 313, R.O. XIII.
 Baptism, 15, 18, 21-3, 29, 51, 59, 61, 94, 98,
 131, 217, 218-9, 222, 229, 262, 264, 272,
 273, 308, R.O. X.
 Baptists, 262, 288, 289, 322, 323, 328, Ch.
 XII, R.O. X.
 Barlow, William, 279, 309-10, 312.
 Barnabas, St., Apostle, 23, 24, 29-32, 51,
 R.O. II.
 Basel, Council of, 192, R.O. VIII.
 Basil the Great, St., 89, Ch. VII, R.O. III.
 Bavaria, Church in, 135, 247, 251.
 Bede, St., 155, R.O. VII.
 Belgium, Church in, 226, 249, 251.
 Benedict of Aniane, St., 137, R.O. VI.
 Benedict of Nursia, St., 116-8, 136, 167, R.O.
 VI.
 Benedictines, 116-8, 136-8, 156-7, 158, 167,
 169, 181, 303, R.O. VI.
 Berengar, 159, R.O. VI.
 Bernard of Clairvaux, St., 143, 167, 169-70,
 254, R.O. VIII.
 Bernardine of Siena, St., 198, R.O. VIII.
 Bible as sole authority, 197, 216, 217, 221,
 223, 261, 263, R.O. IX, X.
 Bible in English, 197, 272, 280, 281, R.O.
 IX, XI, XII, XIV.
 Biblical Criticism, 259, 260-1, 317-8, 340,
 341, Ch. XI, R.O. IX, XIV.

Bishops, choice of, 51, 93, 94-5, 108, 119, 122, 138, 139, 140, 141-2, 177, 192, 248, 253, 266, 306, 317; duty of, 5, 15, 21, 49-50, 51, 59, 60, 131; Celtic Church, 148; elimination of, 217, 220, 222, 248, 293, 298, R.O. IX, X; origin of, 52-5, 58, 66, Ch. IV; rights of, 119, 130, 177, 229, 266; state officials, 122, 138-9, 300; *see also* Apostolic Succession;
 Church of England, continuation of, 271, 279, 281; attack on, 279, 281; suppression of, 287, 288; restoration of, 290;
 Colonial Church, lack of, 328-30, 332;
 Episcopal Church obtained, 332-4;
 Scotland, elimination of, 249, 288, 293; restoration of, 285, 290, R.O. XI, XII.
Bishops' Book, 272, R.O. XI, XIV.
 Blair, William, 329.
 Bohemia, Church in, 133, 198, 226, 241, 243, 247, 251, R.O. VI.
 Bonaventure, St., 175, 183, R.O. VIII.
 Boniface (Winfrid), St., 135, R.O. VI.
 Boniface VIII, Pope, 178, 187, R.O. VIII.
 Bonner, Edmund, 273, 275, 276, R.O. XIII.
 Boris, 132, R.O. VI.
 Bossuet, Jacques, 253, R.O. XIII.
 Bray, Thomas, 329.
 British Church, 145-6, 150, 152.
 Broad Church, 316-7, 340-1, Ch. XI, R.O. XIV.
 Brooks, Phillips, 340, R.O. XIII.
 Browne, Robert, 262.
 Bruno, St., 165-6, R.O. VIII.
 Buchmanites, 324, 341.
 Bunyan, John, 291.

C

Caesaro-papalism, 108-10, 115-6, 130, 264, 270, 278, R.O. III.
 Callistus, St., Pope, 60, 68, R.O. II.
 Calvin, John, 221-3, 228, 243, 257, 322, Ch. XI, R.O. XI, XIII.
 Calvinists, 241, 243-8, 249, 251, 261, Ch. XI, R.O. XI; *see also* Dutch Reformed, Huguenots, Presbyterians, Puritans.
 Calvinism, 221-3, 257, 323, R.O. X; relation to Church of England, 276, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 287, 288, 293, 297, 299, 313.
 Campbell, Thomas and Alexander, 262.
 Campbellites, 262-3, 323, 324, R.O. X.
 Canada, Church in, 307, 320, 321, 328.
 Canon Law, 109, 123, 158, 160, 333, 334, R.O. VI.
 Canute, 136, 156-7, R.O. VII.
 Cardinals, 139, 184, 190, 191, 224, 245.
 Carthusians, 165-6, 271, R.O. VIII.
 Cathari, 173, 177, 196, R.O. VIII.
 Catherine of Siena, St., 189-90, R.O. VIII.
 Catholicity of the Church, 4, 315-8, 341, 345-6.
 Celibacy, 63, 131, 138, 139, 156, 217, 229, 273.
 Celtic Church, 122, 135, 145-9, 152.
 Chad, St., 153-4, R.O. VII.
 Chalcedon, Council of, 105, 107, 110, R.O. III, IV.
 Charlemagne, 122-3, 135, 137, 148, R.O. VI.
 Charles I of England, 208, 284-9, R.O. XII, XIV.
 Charles II of England, 289-91, 322, R.O. XII, XIV.
 Charles V, Emperor, 224, 228-9, 238-40, 244, 269, 275, R.O. XI.
 Charles Borromeo, St., 232, R.O. XIII.
 Charles Martel, 125, R.O. VI.
 Chase, Philander, 336.
 China, Church in, 188, 257, 307-8, 336; Nestorians in, 105.
 Christian Science, 263, 324, R.O. X.

Church and State, Roman Empire, 25, 37-8, 40, 41-2, 44-6, 61, 68, 76-8, 81, 83, R.O. II; *see also* Persecution; Eastern, 85-9, 90, 101-2, 104-10, 126-7, 128-9, R.O. III, IV; Western, 46, 85-6, 95, 97, 112; *see also* Roman Empire;
 Germanic invaders, 114-6, 119-20, 121-2, 134;
 medieval, 122-3, 130, 138-44, 176-81, 187-8, 190-1, 192, 198, 200, 206, R.O. VI, VIII;
 British Isles, 148, 149, 150-2, 153, 154, 156-8, 160-4, R.O. VII;
 modern, British Isles, Tudor, 213, 250, 270-1, 273, 275-80; Stuart, 281-2, 286-9; Commonwealth, 287-9; Restoration, 290-2; constitutional monarchy, 294-6, 300, 305, 306, 316, R.O. XIV;
 Colonies (U.S.), 322, 325-8, Ch. XII;
 Orthodox, 264-5;
 Protestant, 217, 219, 220, 222-3, 238-51, 263, 287-9, 322, 324, R.O. IX, X, XI, XII;
 Roman Catholic, 226, 234, 238-53, 256, R.O. IX, XI, XII.
 Church history, v-vi, 4-6, 76, 100, 155.
 Church, nature of, 3-6, 97, 196-7, 214-23, 233, 298-9, 300, 303, 345-6.
 Church of England, 251, 306, 309, R.O. XIV; *see also* Anglicanism; Reformation, 270-6, 278-81; Restoration, 290-3; 18th century, 262, 294-6, 298-9; 19th century, 300-6; in American Colonies, 325-31, Ch. XII.
 Cistercians, 167-8, R.O. VIII.
 Civil War, American, 323, 324, 337, 339.
 Claggett, Thomas John, 334, 335.
 Clare, St., 172.
 Clement of Alexandria, St., 69-70, R.O. II.
 Clement of Rome, St., 66-7, 69, R.O. II.
 Clement V, Pope, 187-8.
 Clement VII, Pope, 228, 269, R.O. XI.
 Clement VII, Avignon Pope, 190.
 Clovis, 115, 121, R.O. VI.
 Cluny, 136-40, 165, 167, 170, R.O. VI.
 Colet, John, 211, 212, 269, R.O. XIII.
 Columbia, St., 149, 152, R.O. VII.
 Commissaries, 329.
 Common Prayer, Book of, *see* Prayer Book.
 Commonwealth and Protectorate, 208, 262, 287-9, 313, R.O. XIV.
 Communism, 256, 265, 342.
 Confession, *see* Penance.
 Confirmation, 15, 21, 51n3, 131, 229, 273, 281.
 Congregational Church government, 219, 222, 223, 262, R.O. X.
 Congregationalism, 261-2, 288, 289, 322, 323, 327, 328, Ch. XII, R.O. X.
 Constance, Council of, 191-2, 198, 216, 234, R.O. VIII.
 Constans, Emperor, 84, 86, 92, Ch. VIII.
 Constantine, Emperor, 25, 44-6, 76-8, 81, 83-5, 108, 112, Ch. VIII, R.O. II, IV; *see also* Donation of Constantine.
 Constantinople, Church in, 75n, 90, 91, 102, 104, 106, 107-8, 114, 120, 124, 126-7, 128, 130-2, 133, 183, 192, 264-5, R.O. VI; fall of, 134, 192, 202, 264, R.O. VIII; Latin Kingdom of, 133, 177, 182, 183; missions from, 115, 132, 133;
 Councils of, I, 90-1, Ch. VII, R.O. III, IV; II, 110, R.O. IV, VI; III, 127, R.O. IV, VI.
 Constantine, Emperor, 85-9, 109, Ch. VII, VIII, R.O. III.
 Conversion, emphasis on, 215, 218, 257, 259, 260-1, 264, 297, 316, 324, 338, 340, R.O. IX, X, XIV.
 Convocation (Canterbury and York), 155, 270, 272-4, 278, 279, 290, 293, 295, 306.
 Coptic Church, 108.

Cornelius the Centurion, 22-3, 24, 30n, R.O. II.
 Councils, General, 78, 272, R.O. IV.
 Councils superior to Pope, 191, 192, 216, 228, R.O. VIII.
 Counter-Reformation, 229-33, 241, 259, 275, 279, 343, 345, R.O. IX, X, XI.
 Coverdale, Miles, 272, 279, 309, 312.
 Cranmer, Thomas, 270, 271-4, 276, 310, 311, 312, 314, Ch. XI, R.O. XI, XIII.
 Creation, 64-6, R.O. V.
 Creeds, 272, 308, 316;
 Apostles', 4, 66, 72, R.O. II;
 Nicene, 4, 66, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87-90, 333, Ch. VII, R.O. III;
 Athenasian, 90n, 333, 334.
 Crisis, theology of, 261, Ch. XI.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 288-9, R.O. XII.
 Crusades, 142-4, 179-81, 187, 210, 225, R.O. VIII; First, 143; Second, 143, 170; Third, 144, 162; Fourth, 133, 144, 177; Fifth, 172; Sixth, 144.
 Curé d'Ars, 254, R.O. XIII.
 Cyprian, St., 60-1, R.O. II.
 Cyril and Methodius, Sts., 132-3, R.O. VI.
 Cyril of Alexandria, St., 104-5, R.O. III, IV.
 Cyril of Jerusalem, St., 50, R.O. III.

D

Deacons, 20, 48-50, 51-3, Ch. IV.
 Decian persecution, 40, 60-1, 70, R.O. II.
 Deists, 259, 260, 294, Ch. XI, R.O. X.
 DeKoven, James, 339.
 Denmark, Church in, 136, 248, 251, 309, R.O. VI, XI.
 Diocletian persecution, 41-2, 44-5, 61, 145, R.O. II.
 Dionysius of Alexandria, St., 70-1, R.O. II.
 Dioscorus, 105-8, R.O. III, IV.
 Divinity of Christ, 12, 14, 70-1, 75-90, 102-8, 126-7, Ch. IX, X.
 Doane, George Washington, 338.
 Docetism, 65, 66, R.O. II, V.
 Dolling, Robert, 304-5.
 Dominic, St., 173-4, R.O. VIII.
 Dominicans, 173-4, 175, 177, 181, 185, 194, 216, 226, R.O. VIII.
 Domitian persecution, 38, 55, R.O. II.
 Donation of Constantine, 46, 122, 203.
 Donatist schism, 45-6, 97, 99, 105, 119, 126, R.O. II.
 Donatus, 46, R.O. II.
 Donne, John, 283.
 Dort, Synod of, 259, 282-3, R.O. XII.
 Duns Scotus, 184, R.O. VIII.
 Dunstan, St., 156, R.O. VII.
 Dutch Reformed Church, 249, 323, 326, Ch. XI, XII.

E

East Prussia, Church in, 136, 143, 249, 251, R.O. XI.
 Ecstasies, 19, 68, 263, 324.
 Eddy, Mary Baker, 263.
 Education, early Church, 69-71; medieval, 123, 148, 155-6, 159, 165, 168-9, 170, 174, 175, 180, 181, 183, 185; modern, 204, 207, 229, 236, 343, R.O. IX; American, 263, 329, 336, 338; English, 269, 285; European, 202, 220, 223, 226, 232-3, 234, 265, 280.
 Edward the Confessor, St., 157, R.O. VII.
 Edward VI of England, 249, 271, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, R.O. XI, XIV.
 Egypt, Church in, 35-6, 63, 108, 126; *see also* Alexandria.
 Elizabeth of England, 250, 261, 271, 277-80, 309, 312, 313, 314, R.O. XI, XIV.
 Elias, Brother, 173, 174-5.
 England, Church in, British, 145-6, 149, 152;

Anglo-Saxon, 120, 134, 150-8, R.O. VII; medieval, 160-4, 191, 195, 196-7; Reformation, 211, 212-3, 226, 251, 269, 270-8, R.O. XI, XIV; post-reformation, 259, 261-2, 281-306, R.O. XII, XIV; *see also* Anglicanism; Church of England.
 Enlightenment, the, 259-60, Ch. XI.
 Ephesus, Council of, 101, 104-5, R.O. III, IV.
 Episcopal Church (U.S.A.), *see* Protestant Episcopal Church.
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 211-2, 213, 269, R.O. XI, XIII.
 Ethelbert, 150.
 Ethiopia, Church in, 35, 108.
 Eucharist, earliest form, 15, 29, 38, 39, 47-50, 55, R.O. II; minister of, 51, 60, 298; Real Presence in, 60, 159, 272, 274, 278, 279, 283, R.O. VI; *see also* Transubstantiation; Eastern, 128, 130, 132, 264-5; medieval, 130, 159, 182, 193, R.O. VI; Anglican, 272, 273-4, 278, 279, 283, 293, 295, 296, 304, 311, 312, 314-5, 344, R.O. X; Protestant, 217, 220, 222, 263, 271, 298, 344, R.O. X; Roman, 229, 236, 344, R.O. X.
 Eusebius of Caesarea, 76, 80-1, 82, 100, Ch. VII, R.O. III.
 Eusebius of Nicomedia, 76, 80, 81-6, Ch. VII, R.O. III.
 Eutyches, 106, 107, R.O. III, IV.
 Evangelicals, *see* Low Church.
 Evil, 64, 97, 196, 263, R.O. V.
 Exemplarism, 169, R.O. VIII.

F

Faith, the, defense of, 114, 123, 177, 269; interpretation of, 127-8, 129, 212, 227, 235, 261, 341; necessity of, 15, 19, 67, 83, 110, 308, 317; retention of, 218, 233, 344; in Anglicanism, 266, 273, 274, 283, 294, 302, 304, 312-4, 315, 318, 339, 341, R.O. XIV.
 Farel, William, 222-3, R.O. XI, XIII.
 Fasting, 62, 131, 148, 217, 236.
 Fénelon, Francis, 253, R.O. XII, XIII.
 Ferrar, Nicholas, 283.
Filioque clause, 131.
 Finland, Church in, 136, 249, 251, 309.
 Flavian, St., 106-7, R.O. III.
 Florence, Council of, 133, 192, 193, 202, 266, R.O. VIII.
 Formula of Concord, 257, R.O. XI.
 Fox, George, 262, 325, R.O. XIII.
 France, Church in, Gaul, 36, 43-4, 67, 84, 92-4, 100; Dark Ages, 115, 120, 121, 123, 134, 135, 157, R.O. VI; medieval, 170, 173, 178, 180, 187-8, 190, 191, 192; Reformation, 226, 229, 231, 232, 243-7, 251, R.O. XI, XII; post-reformation, 252-3, 254, 256.
 Francis de Sales, St., 231-2, R.O. XII, XIII.
 Francis of Assisi, St., 170-5, 185, R.O. VIII.
 Francis Xavier, St., 225-6, R.O. XIII.
 Franciscans, 172-3, 174-6, 177, 185, 194, 226, 303, 320, R.O. VIII.
 Frederick II, Emperor, 144, 176, 178.
 Free will, 14, 97, 184.
 Friars, 168, 172-6, 181, 185, 194, 196, R.O. VIII.
 Froude, Richard Hurrell, 300-1, R.O. XIII.
 Fundamentalism, 261.

G

Gallicanism, 252-3, R.O. XII.
 Gardiner, Stephen, 273, 274, 275, 276, 310, 311, R.O. XIII.
 General Convention (Episcopal Church), 307, 334, 336, 337, 339.
 Geneva, 222-3, 231, 243, 276, 322, R.O. XI.

- Gentiles, admission of, 14, 22-32, 48, 71, Ch. III, R.O. II.
- Germanic invasions, 99, 106, 109, 114-5, 123-4, 134, 137, 145, 147.
- Germany, conversion of, 122, 135-6; Church in, medieval, 141-2, 191, 192, 195; Reformation, 215-9, 226, 229, 235, 238-43, 247, 251, R.O. XI, XII; post-reformation, 255, 257, 259-61.
- Gnosticism, 63-6, 67, 69, 71, 96, Ch. X, R.O. II, V.
- Good works, 98, 214-5, 221, R.O. X.
- Gothic art, 180, 185-6, 208-9.
- Grace, 98-9, 218, 229, R.O. III, V.
- Great Schism, 129-32, 133, 139, 345, R.O. VI.
- Gregory of Nazianzus, St., 130-1, 100, Ch. VII, R.O. III, IV.
- Gregory of Nyssa, St., 89-90, Ch. VII, R.O. III.
- Gregory the Illuminator, St., 46, R.O. II.
- Gregory I, the Great, St., Pope, 118-21, 136, 150, 156, R.O. VI.
- Gregory VI, Pope (Gratian), 139, 140-1.
- Gregory VII, St., Pope (Hildebrand), 140-1, 160, R.O. VI.
- Griswold, Alexander Viets, 335-6, 338, R.O. XIII.
- Gustav Adolph of Sweden, 242, 249, R.O. XII.
- H
- Hampton Court Conference, 281, 282, R.O. XII, XIV.
- Helena, St., 25, 85.
- Henry II of England, 162, R.O. VII.
- Henry III, Emperor, 139.
- Henry IV, Emperor, 141.
- Henry IV of France (Navarre), 244-6, 248, R.O. XII.
- Henry VIII of England, 210, 212, 213, 268-73, 275, 277, 295, 310, R.O. XI, XIV.
- Herbert, George, 283, R.O. XIII.
- Heresy, attack on, 82, 106, 109, 119, 144, 177, 226-7, 306, 340; *see also* Inquisition; nature of, 5, 45, 183, R.O. V; refutation of, 67, 69; toleration of, 266, 316-8.
- High Church, Laudian, 294, 295, 297, 299, 331, 333, 335, 336, 338; Anglo-Catholic, 300-6, 313, 316, 318, 338-9, 341, Ch. XI, R.O. XIV.
- Hilary of Poitiers, St., 88, 92-3, Ch. VII, R.O. III.
- Hildebrand, *see* Gregory VII, St., Pope.
- Hilton, Walter, 195, R.O. VIII.
- Hippolytus, St., 67-8, R.O. II.
- Hobart, John Henry, 335-6, 338, R.O. XIII.
- Holland, Church in, 195, 207, 244, 249, 251, 259, 262, R.O. XI, XII.
- Holy Communion, *see* Eucharist.
- Holy days, 206, 223, 236.
- Holy Land, 25, 50, 85, 126, 133, 142-4, 179, 225.
- Holy Orders, *see* Ordination.
- Holy Roman Empire, medieval, 122-3, 132, 135, 137, 141-2, 176, 178, 192, R.O. VI; Reformation, 202, 216, 219, 238-43, 247.
- Holy Spirit, 16, 17-9, 21-2, 23, 27, 71-4, 81, 90, 128, 131, Ch. X, R.O. II, III, V.
- Homousion, 70, 81-2, 86, Ch. VII.
- Honorius, Pope, 126-8, 150, R.O. IV, VI.
- Hooker, Richard, 280, 283, R.O. XI, XIII.
- Hosius, 78-80, 81, 87, Ch. VII, R.O. III.
- Huguenots, 243-7, 323, 326, Ch. XI, R.O. XI.
- Humanism, 202-3, 211-3, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223, 227, 234-5, 257-60, 269, 272, 317, Ch. XI, R.O. IX, X, XIII.
- Humanity of Christ, 12, 70, 90-1, 102-8, 126-7, Ch. IX, X.
- Hungary, Church in, 136, 226, 247-8, 251, R.O. VI, XI, XII.
- Huntington, William Reed, 340.
- Hus, John, 191-2, 197-8, 216, 233, R.O. VIII.
- Hutten, Ulrich von, 219, R.O. XIII.
- I
- Ibas, 106, 107, 110, R.O. III, IV.
- Iceland, Church in, 136, 248, 251, R.O. XI.
- Iconoclasm, 121, 128-9, 273, R.O. IV, V, VI.
- Ignatius of Antioch, St., 42-3, 52-3, R.O. II.
- Ignatius Loyola, St., 224-6, 227, R.O. XI, XIII.
- Immaculate Conception, 228, 254-5, 267.
- Incarnation, 12, 14, 64-6, 69-71, 80, 84, 90-1, 102-8, 110, 126-7, Ch. IX, X, R.O. III, IV.
- Index of Forbidden Books, 227, R.O. X, XI.
- India, Church in, 35, 188, 225, 256, 307.
- Individualism, 208-11, 218, 223, 236, 342-6, R.O. IX.
- Indulgences, 194, 215-6, 224, 229, 272.
- Innocent III, Pope, 163, 172, 176-8, 186, 234, R.O. VIII.
- Inquisition, 226-7, 235, 249, 277, R.O. X, XI.
- Institutes, 221, 223, 279, 313, R.O. X.
- Investiture, 140-2, 161, R.O. VII, VIII.
- Ireland, Church in, 134, 146-9, 226, 250-1, 307, R.O. VII.
- Irenaeus, St., 67, R.O. II.
- Isidore, St., 120, R.O. VI.
- Italy, Church in, Roman Empire, 94-5; Dark Ages, 120, 134; medieval, 188-90, 191, 193, 198; Reformation, 203, 223-4, 227, 232, 234-5, 247, 251, 255, R.O. XI; *see also* Papacy; Roman Empire; Rome.
- J
- James, son of Zebedee, St., Apostle, 24, Ch. II.
- James of Jerusalem, St., Apostle, 24, 29, 30-1, 35, 36, Ch. II, V, R.O. II.
- James I of England, 249-50, 281-2, 284, R.O. XII, XIV.
- James II of England, 289, 291-2, 293, 295, 323, 325, 327, 333, R.O. XII, XIV.
- Jansen, Cornelius, 251-2, R.O. XIII.
- Jansenism, 252, R.O. XII.
- Japan, Church in, 226, 308.
- Jean-Baptiste Marie Vianney, St., 254, R.O. XIII.
- Jerome, St., 99-101, 102, R.O. III.
- Jerusalem, Church in, 17-21, 23, 24-25, 29, 30-1, 33, 34, 50, 75n; Jewish city, 8, 26, 34; fall of, 11, 25, 36, R.O. II; Kingdom of, 143-4, 187, R.O. VIII; pilgrimage to, 50, 85, 126, 142.
- Jesuits, character, 225-6, 234, R.O. X; work, England, 280, 284; Europe, 226, 229, 232, 241, 248, 251, 252, R.O. XI; missionary, 225-6, 319-21.
- Jewish-Christian Church, 23-5, 30, 34, 56, 58.
- Jewish religion, 7-9, 38, 66, 69, 124, 128.
- Jews, 7-12, 34, 38, 39, 124-5, 182, 293, 296.
- Joan of Arc, St., 201, R.O. VIII.
- John (Gospel), 35, 56, 69, 155, Ch. II, V.
- John, St., Apostle, 18, 21, 35, 55, 56, 67, Ch. II, V, R.O. I, II.
- John Chrysostom, St., 101-2, 109, R.O. III.
- John of Damascus, St., 128-9, R.O. IV, VI.
- John of the Cross, St., 230-1, R.O. XI, XIII.
- John XXII, Pope, 188.
- John of England, 162-3, 176, 177, 186, R.O. VII.
- Julian of Norwich, 195, R.O. VIII.
- Julian the Apostate, Emperor, 88, Ch. VIII.
- Julius I, St., Pope, 85, 87, Ch. VII, VIII, R.O. III.
- Julius II, Pope, 193, 209, 268.

Julius III, Pope, 227, 240, R.O. XI.
Justification by faith only, 214-5, 221, 228, R.O. X.
Justin Martyr, St., 68-9, R.O. II.
Justinian I, Emperor, 109-10, 124, R.O. IV, VI.

K

Kant, Immanuel, 260, Ch. XI.
Kemble, John, 299-302, 313, R.O. XIII.
Kempis, Thomas à, 195, R.O. VIII.
Kierkegaard, Søren, 260-1, R.O. XIII.
King's Book, 273, 275, R.O. XI, XIV.
Knox, John, 249, R.O. XIII.

L

Lambeth Conferences, 308, 309n.
Lanfranc, 158-60, 164, R.O. VI, VII.
Langton, Stephen, 163, 164, 177, R.O. VII.
Lateran Council, Fourth, 173, 177-8, R.O. VIII.
Latin America, Church in, 235, 255, 256, 307, 319-20, 328.
Latitudinarians, 294, 295, 296, 299, 313, 317, 330, 340, Ch. XI, R.O. XIV.
Laud, William, 284-7, 290, 294, 300, 313, R.O. XII, XIII.
Law (Old Testament), 8, 9, 10-1, 24-5, 26-32, Ch. III.
Law, William, 295, 296, R.O. XIII.
Leo I, St., Pope, 106-7, 115, 147, 191, R.O. III, IV.
Leo IX, St., Pope, 139, 141.
Leo X, Pope, 193, 212, R.O. XI.
Leo III, Emperor, 128, R.O. IV, VI.
Liberalism, 80, 82, 110, 260, 261, 316-8, 340-1, 343, 344, 345, R.O. XIV.
Liberius, Pope, 87, R.O. III.
Louis IX of France, St., 179-81, 186, 200, 210, R.O. VIII.
Louis XIV of France, 210, 246, 251-3, 289, 290.
Low Church, 299, 301, 305, 313, 316, 317, 335, 336, 338, 339, 340-1, Ch. XI, R.O. XIV.
Lowler, Charles, 304.
Luke, St., Evangelist, 36, 52, 55, 56, Ch. V, R.O. II.
Luther, Martin, 214-21, 222, 223, 228, 233, 238-40, 257, 269, Ch. XI, R.O. XI, XIII.
Lutheranism, 217-8, 238-43, 247-9, 251, 257-61, 323, R.O. X, XI.
Lyons, Council of, 133, 175, 181, 183-4, R.O. VIII; Martyrs of, 43-4.

M

Macedonianism, 90, Ch. X, R.O. III, IV, V.
Madison, James, 334, 335.
Magna Charta, 163, 177, 186, R.O. VII.
Malines Conferences, 305.
Manichaeans, 96, 97, 119, 196, 263, R.O. III, V.
Manning, Henry Edward, Cardinal, 301-2, R.O. XIII.
Marcellus of Ancyra, 80, Ch. VII, R.O. III.
Marcian, Emperor, 107, 108, R.O. IV.
Marcion, Gnostic, 65, R.O. II.
Mark, St., Evangelist, 30, 32, 36, 52, 56, Ch. V, R.O. II.
Marsiglio of Padua, 191, 195.
Martin of Tours, St., 91-4, 117, 123, R.O. III.
Martyrs, 20-1, 24, 35-6, 42-4, 60, 61, 62, 69, 70, 135, 145, 213, 271, 274, 276, 286, 289, 320-1.
Mary the Virgin, St., 24n, 35, 104; cult of, 169, 214, 228, 254-5.
Mary I of England, 249, 261, 268, 274-7, R.O. XI, XIV.

Mary, Queen of Scots, 244, 249-50, 275n, 280, 281, R.O. XI.
Mass, *see* Eucharist.
Matrimony, 15, 51, 68, 109, 229, 269, 270.
Matthew, St., Apostle, 35, 56, Ch. II, V.
Matthias, St., Apostle, 51, Ch. II.
Melancthon, Philip, 239, 257, Ch. XI, R.O. XIII.
Mennonites, 219, 323.
Messiah, 8-9, 10, 11, 14, 24, Ch. I, R.O. II.
Methodists, 262, 296-9, 303, 323-4, Ch. XI, R.O. XIV.
Michael Cerularius, 132, R.O. VI.
Middle Class, 205-8, 217, 219, 223, 235-6, 243, 268, R.O. IX.
Milan, Edict of, 45, R.O. II; Council of (355), 87.
Military Orders, 136, 143, 187.
Milton, John, 209, 291.
Mind of the Church, 3-4, 5, 58, 78, 191, 228, 254-5, 267, 280, 315-8.
Ministry, *see* Bishops; Congregational Church government; Deacons; Ordination; Presbyteral Succession; Priests.
Mirandola, Pico della, 203, 211, R.O. VIII.
Missions, Apostolic, 21-3, 30, 32-4, 52; European, east, 132-4; west, 93, 120, 122, 134-6, 146-7, 149-52, 154; foreign, 188; Anglican, 294-5, 299, 306, 308, 336, R.O. XIV; Protestant, 198, 264; Roman, 225-6, 234, 256-7, 319-21.
Mohammed, 124-5, R.O. VI.
Mohammedanism, 99, 124-6, 128, 132, 134, 142-4, 182, 201, 264, 265, R.O. VI.
Monasticism, *see* Religious Life.
Monophysitism, 106-10, 114, 126-7, Ch. IX, X, R.O. III, IV, V.
Monothelitism, 126-7, Ch. X, R.O. IV, V, VI.
Montanism, 68, R.O. II, V.
Monte Cassino, 117, 118-9, 136, 181.
Moralism, 260, 263.
Moravia, conversion of, 132-3, R.O. VI.
Moravians (Hussites), 198, 248, 260, 297, 323, Ch. XI, R.O. X.
More, St. Thomas, *see* Thomas More, St.
Mormons, 263, 324, R.O. X.
Mussolini, 210, 255.
Mystery cults, 66.
Mysticism, 173, 182, 189, 195-6, 210, 230-2, 236, 294, R.O. VIII, X.

N

Nantes, Edict of, 246-7, 323, R.O. XI, XII.
Napoleon, 210, 253.
Nationalism, 186, 199-202, 205, 217, 223, 234, 277, 342, 343, R.O. IX.
Neale, John Mason, 302-3, 304, R.O. XIII.
Nestorianism, 102-5, 108-10, 114, 126, Ch. IX, X, R.O. III, IV, V.
Nestorius, 104-5, R.O. III, IV.
New Learning, *see* Humanism.
New Testament, 31, 32-4, 35-6, 55-8, 65-6, 67, 100, 101, 203, 211, 212, 217, 227, Ch. II, V, R.O. II, XI.
New Zealand, Church in, 307.
Newman, John Henry, Cardinal, 300-2.
Nicaea, Councils of, I, 78-82, 107, Ch. VII, R.O. III, IV; II, 129, R.O. IV, VI.
Non-jurors, 292-3, 294, 295, 314, 333, R.O. XII, XIV.
Norbert, St., 168, 173, R.O. VIII.
Norbertines, 168, 174, R.O. VIII.
Normans, 134, 141, 157-61, R.O. VII.
North Africa, Church in, 36, 45-6, 97, 99, 119, 126.
Norway, Church in, 136, 248, 251, 309, R.O. VI, XI.

O

Obedience, vow of, 63, 118, 225.

- Occam, *see* William of Occam.
 Old Catholic Church, 255n, 309.
 Old Testament, 7, 56, 65, 67, 101, 124, 203, 211, 217, 227.
 Onderdonk, Benjamin and Henry, 335, 338.
 Oratorians, 223, 232, 275, R.O. X, XI, XII.
 Ordinal, English, 274, 276, 279, 309-12, R.O. XI.
 Ordination, form and matter of, 4, 15, 20, 310-2; function of, 4, 5, 60, 196-7, 215, 298, 309; minister of, 15, 51n3, 52-5, 217, 222, 229, 312, 332; *see also* Anglican Orders, validity of.
 Origen, 70, 76, 80, 100-1, 110, R.O. II, IV.
 Originism, 101, 102, 110, Ch. X, R.O. IV, V, VI.
 Orthodox Churches, 51n3, 108, 129-34, 183, 192, 264-6, 345.
 Oswald, St., 152, R.O. VII.
- P
- Pachomius, St., 63, 117, R.O. II.
 Pagan religion, 6-7, 37-8, 40, 64, 66, 71, 93, 117.
 Palestina, 203, 232.
 Papacy, acts of, disciplinary, 60, 66-7, 106, 119-20, 130, 132, 139, 141, 154-5, 166, 167, 172, 174, 177-8, 190, 192, 194, 198, 212, 216, 224, 225-6, 228-9, 239-40, 268, 271, 277, 279-80; doctrinal, 85, 87, 104, 107, 110, 112-4, 120, 126-8, 170, 178, 185, 228, 229, 252, 253, 254, 255, 267, 269, 276, 305; liturgical, 100, 132-3, 182, 235; missionary, 120, 132-3, 135, 146-7, 150, 154, 188, 256; political, 106, 115-6, 119-22, 130, 133, 141, 143, 158, 160, 163, 176-8, 180, 186, 187-8, 189, 193, 198, 228, 232, 234, 245-6, 252-3, 255, 256, 269-70, 279-80, 284; election of, 184, 190, 191, 245-6; influence of, 46, 66-7, 87, 106, 112-6, 120, 161, 188, 190-1, 200, 235, 267, 286, 345, R.O. III; reform of, 123, 139, 170, 191-2; rejection of, 130-2, 163, 192, 213, 216, 253, 270-1, 278, 293, R.O. X, XI, XIV; submission to, 135, 153, 266, 275-6, 291, 301, 303, 339.
 Papal Claims, ecclesiastical, 106-7, 112, 120, 130, 132, 153, 193, 229, 254, 267, 345; *see also* Papal Infallibility; political, 114-6, 123, 130, 160, 177-8; *see also* Donation of Constantine; Papacy, acts of, political.
 Papal Infallibility, 107, 127-8, 236, 254-5, 267, 315, 316, 345, R.O. IX, X.
 Papal finance, 161, 177, 178, 192, 193-4, 206, 215-6, 224, 234, R.O. IX.
 Papal Schism, 190-1, 193, R.O. VIII.
 Papal States, 121-2, 176, 189, 193, 202, 255, 270.
 Parker, Matthew, 278-9, 309-10, 312, R.O. XI, XIII, XIV.
 Parliament (British), medieval, 161, 163-4, 186; Tudor, 207, 270, 272, 274, 278; Long, 208, 286-9, 290, R.O. XII; Restoration, 289-90, 292, 293; modern, 296, 299, 306.
 Pascal, Blaise, 252, R.O. XIII.
 Patrick, St., 146-7, R.O. VII.
 Paul, St., Apostle, 14, 19, 20-1, 23, 25-35, 36, 48, 51, 52, 55, 112, 145, 211, 213, Ch. II, III, V, R.O. I, II.
 Paul III, Pope, 224, 225, 227, 228, R.O. XI.
 Paul IV, Pope (Caraffa), 224, 227, 228, 277, R.O. XI, XIII.
 Paul of Samosata, 70, 81, R.O. II.
 Paulinus, St., 151, 153, R.O. VII.
 Pelagius, 97-8, R.O. III, IV.
 Pelagianism, 97-8, 101, 104-5, 215, 228, 252, R.O. III, IV, V.
 Penance, 15, 51, 59-61, 94, 95, 148, 178, 217, 229, 272, 281, 302, 304, 311, R.O. II, VII, X.
 Penda, 151-2, R.O. VII.
 Penn, William, 262, 322, R.O. XIII.
 Pentecostal Sects, 19, 68, 263, 324, R.O. X.
 Persecution, by Jews, 11, 18, 20-1, 24, 27, 30, 34, 38; by Roman Empire, 34-6, 37-45, 58, 61-2, 69, 70, 102, 145, Ch. II, R.O. II; by Persians, 46, 105; by heretics, 84, 85-8, 92-3, 128-9; by Mohammedans, 126, 142; by heathen, 135, 320-1; by Anglicans, 213, 271, 272, 273, 280, 282, 290, 293-4, 295-6; ritual, 305, 338-9; by Protestants, 223, 289, 322; by Roman Catholics, 227, 244, 246-7, 249, 252, 274, 277.
 Persia, Church in, 35, 46, 105; Nestorians in, 105, 109-10, 126.
 Peter, St., Apostle, 14, 17-9, 21-3, 24, 29, 30-1, 35, 36, 48, 56, 66, 112, Ch. II, V, R.O. I, II.
 Peter Claver, St., 319-20.
 Peter Lombard, 170, 182, R.O. VIII.
 Pharisees, 10-1, 26, 34, Ch. I.
 Philip the Deacon, St., 21-2, 23, 56, Ch. V, R.O. II.
 Philip Neri, St., 232, R.O. XI, XIII.
 Philip II of Spain, 244, 245, 249, 275, 276, 280, R.O. XI, XIV.
 Philip II (Augustus) of France, 144, 176, 234.
 Philip IV of France, 178, 187-8.
 Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, 239-40, R.O. XI.
 Philippine Independent National Church, 309.
 Photius, 131-2, R.O. VI.
 Pietists, 259-60, Ch. XI, R.O. XII.
 Pilgrimage of Grace, 272.
 Pisa, Council of, 191, R.O. VIII.
 Pius IV, Pope, 227, 232, 279, R.O. XI.
 Pius V, St., Pope, 227, 279-80, R.O. XI.
 Plato, 182, 202-3.
 Poland, Church in, 133, 136, 226, 248, 251, R.O. VI, XI, XII.
 Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 224, 228, 275-7, 310, R.O. XIII.
 Polish National Catholic Church (U.S.A.), 309.
 Polycarp, St., 43, 67, R.O. II.
 Pope, *see* Papacy.
 Portugal, Church in, 234, 247, 251, 256.
 Potter, Henry Codman, 340.
 Poverty, vow of, 62, 63, 167, 172-6.
 Praemunire, Statute of, 163, 269, 270.
 Pragmatic Sanction (French), 192, 202, 252, 271, R.O. VIII; (German), 192.
 Prague, Peace of, 242, R.O. XII.
 Prayer Book, 272, 280, 281, 285, 288, 289, 293, 300-1, 305, 312-5, 322, 327, 344, R.O. IX, X, XI, XII, XIV; 1549, 273-4, 278, 290, 311, 312, 314, 315; 1552, 274, 275, 278, 311, 312, 314; 1559, 278, 290, 311, 314; 1662, 290, 311, 314; Non-juror, 293, 314; Scottish, 293, 314, 333, 334; Proposed American, 1785, 314, 333, 339; American (official), 293, 314, 334, 340; South African Supplement, 315.
 Predestination, 97, 221-2, 228, 257, 323, R.O. X.
 Presbyterian Succession, 52-5, 217, 222, 279, 288-9, 293, 298, 332.
 Presbyterians, American, 261, 262-3, 323, 326, 338; English, 262, 288-9, 290, 311, R.O. XII, XIV; Scottish, 249, 281, 285, 288, 293, 307, Ch. XI, R.O. XI.
 Priesthood of All Believers, 215, 233, R.O. X.

Priests, authority of, 5, 51-5, 60, 196-7, 215, 298, 309, Ch. IV; corruption of, 194, 329; function of, 15, 51, 119, 185, 312; reform of, 224, 226, 229, 232; rejection of, 196, 215, 223, 262, 281, 289.

Primer, 273, R.O. XI, XIV.

Protestant Episcopal Church (U.S.A.), 293, 307-8, 314-5, 332-41.

Protestantism, 52, 129, 184, 214-23, 227, 233-4, 235, 236, 257-64, 315, 344-6, R.O. IX, X; influence on Anglicanism, 273, 274, 277, 278, 301, 311, 312, 333, 334, R.O. XIV.

Protestants, R.O. XIII, American, 261-4, 297, 322-4, 325, 341, Ch. XII; Continental, 212, 228, 238-51, R.O. XI, XII; English, 261-2, 277, 279, 280, 281, 287-9, 290, 293, 295, 296, R.O. XIV; mission field, 264.

Provoost, Samuel, 331, 333-4, 335.

Purgatory, 194, 217.

Puritanism, 68, 198, 221, 261, 289, 294, 322, 346, R.O. XIV.

Puritans, 261, 277, 281, 285, 287-9, 290, 293, 313, 322, 327.

Pusey, Edward Bouverie, 300-4, 313, R.O. XIII.

Q

Quakers, 262, 322, 324, 325, 328, Ch. XII, R.O. X.

R

Rationalism, 169, 259, 260, 294, R.O. XIV.

Receptionism, 222, 271, 274.

Reform of Church, 119, 123, 138-42, 156, 160, 177, 192, 196-8, 211-4, 224, 228-9, 232-3, R.O. IX, X, XI.

Reformation, 52, 142, 199, 214-23, 238-51, 316, 345-6, Ch. XI, R.O. IX, X, XI, XII; English, 271-4, 277-80, R.O. XIV.

Reformed Episcopal Church, 339.

Religious Life, Eastern, 62-3, 82, 84, 87, 89, 100, 101, 106, 128, R.O. II; pre-benedictine, 91-3, 96, 97, 100, 146, 147; Celtic, 135, 147-9, 152, R.O. VII; Benedictine, 116-20, 122, 136-40, 153, 155, 156, 158-9, 160, 165, 167, 169, 170, 181, R.O. VI; medieval, 165-8, 170-6, 177, 181, 184, 185, 194-5, 196, 198, 206, 211-2, 214, R.O. VIII; *see also* Military Orders; Roman Catholic, 223-4, 225-6, 230-3, 235, 256, 291, R.O. XI, XII; destruction of, Protestant, 217, 220, 223, R.O. IX; England, 271-2, R.O. IX, XI, XIV; revival of, England, 303; America, 338, 339, 340.

Renaissance, 193, 202-5, 208-11, 277, Ch. XI, R.O. IX.

Reuchlin, John, 211, 239.

Reunion of Christendom, 133-4, 183, 192, 236, 266-7, 298, 305, 307, 308, 318, 341, 344-6, R.O. XIV.

Revivalists, 324, R.O. X.

Revolution, American, 323, 330-1.

Richelieu, Armand-Jean de, Cardinal, 242, 246, R.O. XII.

Rigorism, 59, 68.

Ritual, 50, 130, 217, 219, 264-5, 272, 282, 285, 304, 325, 339-41, R.O. X; attack on, 219, 261-2, 281, 294, 305, 339, 340.

Robert of Molesme, St., 167.

Roman Catholicism, 4n, 35, 70, 101, 107, 127-8, 184, 223-36, 254-6, 266-7, 315, 316, 343-5, R.O. IX, X; relation to Anglicanism, 277, 283, 284, 292, 295, 305, 309-12, 316, 345.

Roman Catholics, R.O. XIII, American, 319-22, 325, 339, Ch. XII; Continental, 219, 220, 238-257, R.O. XI, XII; English,

274-7, 279-80, 281-2, 289, 290-2, 293-4, 295-6, 301-2, 303, 307, R.O. XIV; mission field, 256-7.

Roman Empire, persecution by, *see* Persecution; conversion of, 45-6, 61, 83, 92-4; Eastern, 109-10, 121, 124, 125-7, 142, 143, 183, 192; fall of, 134, 192, 202, 264, R.O. VIII; Western, fall of, 99, 114-5, 123-4, 145-6, R.O. VI.

Rome, Church in, 32, 33, 35-6, 42, 46, 48, 85, 97, 100, 108, 112-5, 131-2, 159, 161, 178, 188-9, 190, 191, 193, 214, 232; *see also* Papacy; Papal States; sack of, (410), 99, R.O. III; (1527), 224, 228, 269, R.O. XI.

Russia, Church in, 133, 264, 265, R.O. VI.

S

S.P.G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel), 294-5, 296, 308, 326-31, R.O. XIV.

Sabellianism, 71-2, 82, 86, 88, Ch. X, R.O. II, V.

Sabellius, 71-2, R.O. II.

Sacraments, emphasis on, 68, 121, 233, 294, 295, 303, 313, 316, 339, 341, R.O. XIV; function of, 4, 15-16, 19, 64, 98, 214-5; minister of, *see* Bishops, duty of; priests, function of; number of, 15, 217, 222, 229, 269, 272, 313, R.O. X; origin of, 4, 15, 66; rejection of, 196, 262, 344; theology of, Catholic, 15-6, 229, 266, 309, 312; Protestant, 215, 216, 217, 222; undermining of, 197, 207, 215, 236, 298.

Sadducees, 9-11, 23, 34, Ch. I.

Saladin, 144, R.O. VIII.

Salvation, doctrine of, 14, 29, 97-8, 169, 197, 214-5, 221-2, 228-9, 257-9, Ch. III, R.O. II, V, X; emphasis on, 68, 129, 236; *see also* Conversion.

Sardica, Council of, 86-7, Ch. VIII.

Saul of Tarsus, *see* Paul, St.

Savonarola, 198, R.O. VIII.

Savoy Conference, 290, R.O. XII, XIV.

Schereschewsky, Samuel, 336.

Schism, 45; *see also* Donatist; Great; Papal.

Schleiermacher, Friedrich, 260, Ch. XI, R.O. XIII.

Scholastic theology, 169, 170, 182-4, 185, 195, 212, 217, 235, 279, R.O. VIII.

Scotland, Church in, 134, 149, 152, 190, 191, 249, 251, 281, 285, 287-8, 293, 307, 314, 332-3, R.O. VII, XI, XII.

Seabury, Samuel, 331, 332-5, 338, R.O. XIII.

Sebastie, Forty Martyrs of, 44, 45.

Seminaries, Roman, 226, 229, 232-3, 280, R.O. X; Episcopal Church, 336, 338, 341.

Sens, Council of, 170.

Serra, Junipero, 320.

Shepherd of Hermas, 59.

Simon the Sorcerer, 22, R.O. II.

Simony, 22, 138, 139, 177, 193, 224.

Sin, 5-6, 14, 15, 59-60, 61, 64, 97-9, 221, 228.

Smith, Joseph, 263.

Smith, William, 331, 332, 333.

Social reform, 142-3, 256, 262, 263, 299, 304, 340, 341, 342, R.O. XIV.

Socinians, 262.

South Africa, Church in, 307, 315.

South India Scheme, 307.

Spain, Church in, early, 35; Dark Ages, 120, 134; medieval, 190, 191, 227; Reformation, 227, 229, 230-1, 234-5, 247, 251, R.O. XI; post-reformation, 255, 256.

Speier, Diets of, 238-9, R.O. XI.

Spener, Philipp, 259-60, R.O. XIII.

Spiritual life, 119, 123, 129, 195, 224-5, 230-3, 236, 282, 283-4, 291, 295, 296, 303, 304, R.O. IX, X.

Stephen, St., Martyr, 20-1, 23, 25, 27, 42, 213, R.O. II.
 Sweden, Church in, 136, 248-9, 251, 309, R.O. VI, XI.
 Switzerland, Church in, 220, 222-3, 247, 251, 255, R.O. XI.
 Syria, Church in, 105, 108, 126; *see also* Antioch.

T

Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, 58.
 Temple (Jerusalem), 8, 9-11, 18, 24, 25, 34, Ch. I.
 Teresa of Avila, St., 230-1, R.O. XI, XIII.
 Tertullian, 67-8, 72, R.O. II.
 Theocracy, 198, 220, 223, 289, 322.
 Theodore of Mopsuestia, 102-4, 106, 110, R.O. III, IV.
 Theodore of Tarsus, St., 154-5, R.O. VII.
 Theodoret, 106, 107, 110, R.O. III, IV.
 Theodosius I, Emperor, 90, 95, 101, 108, R.O. IV.
 Theodosius II, Emperor, 104-7, 108, R.O. IV.
 Theophilus of Alexandria, 102, 104, R.O. III.
 Theophilus of Antioch, 70, R.O. II.
 Thirty Years' War, 241-3, R.O. XII.
 Thomas à Becket, St., 162, 164, R.O. VII.
 Thomas Aquinas, St., 175, 180, 181-4, 195, 202, 210, 254, 343-4, R.O. VIII.
 Thomas More, St., 212-3, 269, 270, 271, R.O. XIII.
 Timothy, St., 32, 52, 311, R.O. II.
 Toleration, 249, 289, 291, 293, 295-6, 316-8, 322, 325, Ch. XII, R.O. IX, XIV.
Tome of Leo, 107.
 Totalitarianism, 37, 108, 124, 181, 198, 210, 222, 235, 256, 322, 342, 346.
 Tractarians, 299-304, 338, R.O. XIV.
 Transubstantiation, 159, 178, 197, 217, 229, 271, 272, R.O. VI, X.
 Trent, Council of, 228-30, 235, 239-40, 252, 275, 279, 311, R.O. IX, X, XI.
 Trinity, 60, 67, 71-90, 262, Ch. VI, X, R.O. II, V, X.
 Tyre, Council of, 84, 85.

U

Uction, 16, 51, 229.
 Uniat Churches, 131, 266.
 Unitarianism, 262, 293, 296, 323-4, R.O. X.
 United States, Church in, colonial, 262, 296-7, 298, 320, 321-3, 325-31, Ch. XII; post-revolution, 262-3, 307, 309, 314, 323-4, 331-41.
 Unity of the Church, 4, 33, 67, 266-7, 344-6; *see also* Reunion of Christendom.

Universalists, 323-4.

Universities, American, 263, 329, 336; English, 170, 269, 284, 285, 296, 299-301, 302; European, 170, 174, 175, 180, 185, 197, 207, 223, 270.
 Urban II, Pope, 143, 166.
 Urban VI, Pope, 189, 190.

V

Valerian persecution, 40-1, 61, R.O. II.
 Valla, Lorenzo, 203, 211, R.O. VIII.
 Vatican City, 122, 255.
 Vatican Council, 255.
 Vincent de Paul, St., 232-3, R.O. XII, XIII.
 Virgin Birth, 105, 254.
 Vladimir, St., 133, R.O. VI.
 Vulgate, 101, 228, 235.

W

Waldensians, 196, R.O. VIII.
 Wales, Church in, 145-6, 150, 151, 152, 306-7.
 Wallenstein, Albrecht von, 241-2, R.O. XII.
 Wesley, Charles, 296-8.
 Wesley, John, 259, 260, 296-8, R.O. XIII.
 Westphalia, Peace of, 243, R.O. XII.
 Whitby, Council of, 153, R.O. VII.
 White, William, 331, 332-5, 337-8, R.O. XIII.
 Whitefield, George, 296-7, 323, R.O. XIII.
 Wilfrid, St., 153-5, R.O. VII.
 William I, the Conqueror, 157-8, 160, R.O. VII.
 William II of England, 160-1, R.O. VII.
 William III and Mary II of England, 292-5, R.O. XII, XIV.
 William of Occam, 195, 214, R.O. VIII.
 Williams, Roger, 322, 328, R.O. XIII.
 Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal, 213, 269-70, R.O. XIII.
 World Council of Churches, 345.
 Worms, Concordat of, 141-2, 176, R.O. VIII;
 Diet of (1521), 216, 238, R.O. XI.
 Wyclif, John, 196-7, 233, R.O. VIII.

X

Ximenes, Cardinal, 227.

Y

Young, Brigham, 263.

Z

Zealots, 10-1, Ch. I.
 Zinzendorf, Nicholas, 198, 260.
 Zwingli, Huldreich, 220, 222, 257, Ch. XI.
 R.O. X, XI, XIII.